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TRAVELS IN PERU.

LONDON:
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SETTING OUT FROM TARIJA.

TRAVELS

IN

VARIOUS PARTS OF PERU,

INCLUDING A YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN

POTOSI,

BY EDMOND TEMPLE,

KNIGHT OF THE ROYAL AND DISTINGUISHED ORDER OF CHARLES III.

"There is no more salutary discipline for the intellectual faculties, than to pass the boundaries of a narrow and selfish nationality, and to gather up the fruits and flowers which we may often find profusely strewed, where, perchance, nothing was expected but a wilderness or a waste." WESTM. REV.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
HENRY COLBURN AND RICHARD BENTLEY,
NEW BURLINGTON STREET.
1830.

UPB

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ERRATA.

Page 13, sixth line from bottom, for "Auto da," read Autos de.
21, Note, for "Garcillaso," read Garcillaso Inca.
82, sixteenth line, dele "of" after disprove.
85, ninth line from bottom, for "can-," read cannot.
123, seventeenth line, dele "them."
184, third line, for "*hagame*," read *haganme*.
189, seventeenth line, for "the state," read our state.
254, seventeenth line, for "six," read eight.
273, Note, for "*necessario ò*," read *necessario negar ò*
281, ninth line from bottom, for "*esa*," read *eso*.
328, third line from bottom, for "*mira*," read *mire*.
330, eighteenth line, for "*esta*," read *esto*.—for "*permitese*," read *permitere*.—
330, second line from bottom, for "*quitar le*," read *quitarse*.

TRAVELS IN PERU.

CHAPTER I.

Journey to Oruro.—The Devil and Saint Anthony.—Desolations of civil war.—"All for the best."—Hail-storm.—Ancient structures of the Indians.—Ruins of towns and villages.—Reflections on the conquest of Peru.—A nocturnal journey.—Misery.—Oruro.—Its former wealth.—Pleasing, interesting, and curious occurrence.

September 9th. By the arrival of a person from Oruro, I was informed that our agent in that town, to whom I had sent the late packet from the Directors, to be forwarded thence to General Paroissien, had been absent for some time, and that his return was uncertain. As it was of the utmost importance that no delay should attend the delivery of that packet to our chief

commissioner, I endeavoured to procure a *propio* (special messenger), but this being a stormy, inclement season of the year, I was unable to do so under the sum of 250 dollars, which in the existing state of our affairs I was unwilling, and indeed unable, to disburse. Independently of this circumstance, I held it to be a good maxim, never to do that by another which I could do myself. Moreover, I was determined that the Directors should not be deceived in their expectation, that *every effort would be exerted* in their cause. I therefore left Mr. Scriviner in charge of our concerns, and, mounting my sturdy *Tortuga*, accompanied by my servant on *el Cura de Tucuman*, and a peon upon *Marquesa*, a good old mule, with *alforjas* containing bread and cheese, and *chifles* filled with *aguardiente*, I left Potosi in the afternoon, on the journey to Oruro, about two hundred miles distant, which in this country is thought as little of as a ride from Edmonton to Ware.

About a league and a half from Potosi is a very narrow pass, called the *puerto;* the solid rocks rising abruptly on each side to the height of between two and three hundred feet, and in some places inclining so as nearly to touch at the top. The converters to Christianity have

induced the Indians to believe that this extraordinary fissure was occasioned by the Devil in a contest with Saint Anthony, who, of course, vanquished the former; but the pleasantry of the tale is in accusing the "fallen angel" of a breach of decorum, startling to the Indians themselves even in their unpolished state of society. The arch-fiend, say the monks, vexed at finding himself outwitted by the saint, and, when retiring discomfited from his presence, slapped his hand indecorously behind, and gave vent to his rage with so much violence, as to rend the surrounding mountains and form the existing chasm! To record this event, the image of the offended Anthony is placed in a niche in the rock on one side of the road, where none pass it without a becoming reverence, and doubtless a due feeling of indignation at the uncourteous insult, for which the downcast look of humility in the countenance of the saint plainly evinces his shame even to this day. Such are the legends of religionists, who at one time held the sway over these people and over all the civilized world!

I had imagined that, in the distance I had already travelled in Peru, I must have seen every description and shape of rock and mountain in existence; but, as I journeyed on, the new and

extraordinary scenery that displayed itself at every turn reminded me that the variety of Nature's marvellous works is endless, and the fund of her invention inexhaustible. On this day's journey, of ten leagues, to the romantically situated Indian village of Yocalla, I saw rocks and mountains of more curious appearance and of more fantastic form than any I had yet observed. Upon the sides of some of the mountains were the remains of walls, built in regular stages round them from their base to their summits, forming terraces on which, or between which, the Indians in days of yore cultivated their crops; but where these signs of former population and industry are to be seen, all is now desolate, and no human habitation exists in their neighbourhood.

10th. On the plains and in the valleys I saw immense flocks of llamas with their young: these animals, as you pass near them, face towards you, raise their stately necks, point their ears, and examine you with their fine large eyes in a most inquisitive manner; but if you approach them they retreat, the sudden movement of one setting the whole flock in motion, as is usual with sheep. I also saw *vicuñas* and *guanacos*, (a variety of the llama, approaching

to the deer,) in greater numbers than heretofore; the wild shrill bleat or neighing of these handsome animals, when they perceive a stranger, has a peculiarly striking effect in these vast regions of solitude and silence. During the whole of this day's journey, which, from the time it occupied, could not be less than forty-five miles, I did not meet with a single human being, but occasionally I saw to the right and left of my road many deserted dwellings of Indians. The ride was extremely wearisome, owing to the continual ascent and descent of rugged mountains, and where I stopped for the night, which set in very cold, I considered myself fortunate in finding a cover from the weather in the hut of a family of Indians, who had recently returned to their ruined village, and were now actually its only inhabitants.

Lagunillas, situated in a valley under rocky mountains of colossal magnitude, was lately a village of sufficient consideration to possess a church. But neither church nor cottage is spared in the undiscriminating ravages of civil war. Here every thing was utterly destroyed, every house unroofed and pulled down by troops in their passage, either from a diabolical pleasure in mischief, or for the convenience of

fuel, into which all the combustible materials had been converted. In civil war, it must be observed, a country suffers nearly as much from friends as foes. Fire and sword, it is true, do not accompany the acts of the former, but still many injuries are inflicted by the troops even of the best disciplined armies; besides this, provisions, necessaries, and contributions, are sometimes levied upon the inhabitants in as unsparing, and often in as summary, a manner by friends as by enemies.

The following I insert, not on account of its historical accuracy, to which the author owes little of his fame; but on account of its whimsicality, for which, indeed, he was at all times distinguished. In his facetious remarks upon "optimisme," Voltaire mentions, that according to calculation, 555,650,000 men have been slain in battle from the Trojan war to that of Acadia.* But here are his own words in his own style, which it would be barbarous to mangle by

* Perhaps every body in the world is not aware that Nova Scotia was first called Acadia *(L'Acadie)* by the French, and afterwards received its present name from our James the First. It was long a bone of contention between France and England, and was not secured to the latter till the peace of Utrecht.

translation. It must be remembered that "*le vieux philosophe*" is ridiculing the doctrine of "All for the best."—*Il est bien vrai que les hommes se pillent et s'égorgent, mais c'est toujours en faisant l'éloge de l'équité et de la douceur. On massacra autrefois une douzaine de millions d'Americains, mais c'était pour rendre les autres raisonnables. Un calculateur a vérifié que depuis la guerre de Troye, jusqu'à celle de l'Acadie, on a tué au moins en batailles rangées, cinq-cent-cinquante-cinq millions, six-cent-cinquante mille hommes, sans compter les petits enfans et les femmes écrasées dans des villes en cendres; mais, c'est pour le bien public: vous voyez que tout cela va le mieux du monde!**

It may be unnecessary to remark, that "good entertainment for man and horse" was not to be had at Lagunillas; though, to my very agreeable surprise, an Indian procured some barley-straw for my animals, a luxury not always to be obtained for them among the mountains of Peru. I know not how some English amateurs would like to perform forty or fifty miles a day, with their own horses, upon such provender; and yet, indifferent as it is, it

* Les Pensées de Voltaire.

occasions to us here a feeling of true delight when we find that it can be had where we stop to rest.

For the sake of celerity on my journey, I had not encumbered myself with bed or bedding; I therefore spread my saddle-cloths *à la Gaucho* upon the floor of the hut, on which the family, consisting of two or three generations, had no little difficulty in finding space when stowing themselves in bulk for the night.

11th. In consequence of feeling it extremely cold, I disturbed my peon earlier than he wished, and on mounting my horse, found the country covered with snow, which had fallen heavily during the night. I procured a guide, who, for three-pence per league, the established rate, trotted before the horses, and performed a post of thirteen or fourteen miles with great ease under three hours. After baiting, I continued my journey, the road being considerably better than usual, from its lying through a valley, which, according to Helms, extends with little variation above six hundred miles to Cusco. The day, besides being piercingly cold, was dismally unpleasant, and ended in a violent hail-storm, which overtook me when about ten miles from the post of Ancacato. The thunder was tremendous, and, in reverberating from the

mountains, the effects were such as to frighten even the native condor from his aërial abode; for several of those gigantic birds descended into the valley, as if cowering from the storm, and, in their impetuous sweep along the surface of the earth, approached much nearer to us than is usual to their naturally wary disposition.

I observed for the first time flocks of alpacos, another species of the llama, but somewhat smaller, and with longer and infinitely finer wool; they are of various colours, but chiefly jet black.

I arrived at the post-hut of Ancacato just as night came on, bringing with it increase of hail, snow, and storm. Here I procured good barley-straw for my animals, which reconciled me to finding *nothing* for myself.

12th. I was on horseback long before daylight, and rode ten leagues before breakfast. The morning was bitterly cold, the road not very bad, but intersected by several streams.

On an immense plain, bounded on my left by the Cordilleras, I passed a row of ancient, mud-built structures, which at a distance had the appearance of Martello towers. They are said to have been the sepulchres of Indian chiefs before the conquest; the walls of some of them

were nearly perfect, which may convey an idea of the durability of the *adobes*, a sun-dried compost of mud and strong grass, with which they are constructed, having stood for centuries without any symptom of decay from the injuries of time or weather. The only aperture in the walls is a very small door-way, made low, in order, it is recorded, that the abode might never be entered but in the posture of humility or veneration. Rings and sundry other articles of gold, also pottery of very curious and ingenious workmanship, have frequently been discovered buried within these structures.

In the course of this day's journey were to be seen, in well-chosen spots, many Indian villages and detached dwellings, for the most part in ruins. Up even to the very tops of the mountains, that line the valleys through which I have passed, I observed many ancient ruins, attesting a former population where now all is desolate. Remains of a similar kind are to be seen in Spain, in proof of a vast and industrious population in the time of the Moors, when that fine country rivalled in prosperity the most flourishing in Europe.

In flying before the patriots of South America, the royal armies consumed by fire what-

Wooden Cup

Pottery

In the Possession of Joseph Myles, Esqre

FOUND IN ANCIENT SEPULCHRES IN PERU.

Printed by Engelmann & Co.

ever they could not destroy by the sword. The unoffending inhabitants who escaped death fled from their villages to distant parts of the country, and did not again return; leaving their dismantled abodes to record the downfall of the dominion of Spain, as their ancestors had been compelled to do, on occasion of their conquest, under similar calamities, three centuries before. The Spaniards have taken their leave of Peru, in repeating that tragedy of desolation which, as historians, tradition, and remains, assure us, was every where performed on their taking possession of it. Unrelenting slaughter and indiscriminate destruction marked the progress of Spanish conquest, and the ruins of towns and villages in the present day are mournful evidence that similar acts have signalized their defeat.

The traveller, as he journeys along, may imagine, in combining the past with the present, that he is pursuing the track of an Attila, a Zingis, or a Tamerlane, who have been represented, like the deluge, the tornado, and the hurricane, to have involved every thing in one sweeping ruin. "*Before them, the land was as the garden of Eden; behind them, as the desolate wilderness.*"

It would be an endless task to record the va-

rious relations I have heard from these people on the subject of their disasters at different periods of the war of independence. Often, after a day's journey, have I joined the circle round a fire, in the middle of some remaining apartment of a ruined dwelling, and there, seated upon the skull of an ox, listened with infinite interest to the descriptions of scenes of woe which the parties present had witnessed or suffered in. So naturally do they relate their plain unvarnished tale, as to excite in the listener a sympathy deeply partaking of the secret pleasure which they themselves evidently feel in recording the evils they have endured: so true it is, that a secret pleasure does attend the reflection upon days of sorrow that are past.

With respect to the histories of the early period of this country, the traveller meets with many circumstances to induce him to forego the doubts, which he naturally feels disposed to entertain upon those revolting accounts of rapine and cruelty given by every writer, of whatever country he may have been, on the subject of the conquest of the New World. It is difficult to suppose, and repugnant to the feelings of humanity to believe, that the subjection of the empires of Mexico and Peru was achieved by the sacrifice of thirty millions of

the natives! But our incredulity is overcome, when we reflect on the numberless instances of persecution, atrocity, and bloodshed, perpetrated in that same age by the authorities of Spain in her dominions *at home*, surrounded by Christian kings, princes, and potentates;—when we consider the number of victims that were sacrificed in Spain alone to the iniquitous decrees of that tribunal, termed the "Council of Blood," which exceeded in cruelty the most barbarous institutions of the most savage tyrants in the heathen world, and the acts of which would be incredible, if the many circumstances recorded by contemporary historians, and supported by subsequent Spanish writers, did not place them beyond all doubt. It is from them we learn that more than five millions of inhabitants, including the expelled Jews and Moors, were swept from the soil of Spain during the terrible ministry of the "Holy Office." In the reigns of Charles V. and his son Philip II. five thousand three hundred and ten persons were burned alive in *Auto da fé*, and those condemned to the galleys and to prison within the same period, exceeded twenty-five thousand. These were the number condemned in the Peninsula *alone*, but, as the historian remarks, if we add those of other countries sub-

ject to the Inquisition of Spain, such as Sicily, Sardinia, Flanders, America, and the Indies, we must feel absolutely horror-struck at the number of victims.*

But, being more to our immediate purpose to show the conduct of the *generals* and *armies* of Spain in her distant possessions, in that same age of which we are speaking, let us turn our view to the Netherlands under the government of the atrocious duke of Alva, and we shall there behold one continued scene of confiscation, imprisonment and death; we shall find, that within the space of a few months, upwards of eighteen hundred persons, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, suffered by the hand of the executioner *alone:* yet the duke of Alva's thirst of blood was not satiated. His soldiers, like so many wolves, were let loose among the people, who saw that nothing less would satisfy their governor than their utter ruin; and, under this consideration, some historians relate, that no less than a hundred thousand houses were forsaken by the inhabitants. It is however certain, that several of the principalities were sensibly thinner,

* See Historia de la Inquisition d'Espaⁿa, by Don Juan Antonio Llorente, considered as a fair and impartial document.

and some whole villages and smaller towns were rendered almost desolate.*

These circumstances too strongly corroborate the deeds which have fixed an everlasting stain on the conquerors of Peru, and lead the mind to picture to itself, what *may* have been the sanguinary excesses of a licentious and undisciplined army, pursuing to destruction a vanquished and defenceless people, who had no power to appeal to for assistance, no neighbouring state to flee to for protection, none to reproach their persecutors with their iniquities, nay, to whom even a tear of pity, that poor comfort of calamity, was obdurately denied. Whole tribes, districts, towns, and cities, were destroyed; pillage and murder lost all their horrors in their frequency, and every feeling of mercy was blunted in the multitude of victims; extermination was the cry, and under the relentless mandate *millions* perished. Some say, twenty-seven millions of the inhabitants of Peru have ultimately fallen by violence under the cruelty and oppression of Spain.† Even the *spiritual conquests* were commenced, and for a

* See Watson's Hist. Philip II. Vol. i. B. VIII. and X.

† It has been already mentioned that by the *mita* conscription alone, upwards of eight millions of the natives have perished in the mines.

length of time continued by the aid of bayonets, and boasted of, observes Humboldt, as being useful to the advancement of religion, and to the aggrandizement of the missions from Europe. "The voice of the Gospel is not listened to," said a Jesuit, "except where the Indians have heard the thunder of fire-arms; persuasion is too slow in its operation; by chastening the natives you facilitate their conversion." Is not this in strict truth—

"Hell's work performing in the name of God?"

And is it not a lamentable reflection, that of all the persecutions, all the causes of contention among mankind, there is not one which has excited so much uncharitableness, animosity, and cruelty, as religion! In the strifes that have had religion for their basis, mercy and conciliation seem to have been looked upon as blemishes on the character of piety, and considered by each party as evidence of lukewarmness and indifference in their *own* great cause of truth! With them, it may indeed be exclaimed, vengeance has been deemed a virtue, clemency a crime! But it is consoling now to know that the reign of fanaticism has passed, that the sacred figure of the cross can no longer be the banner under which men may triumphantly assemble to persecute their fellows

and sprinkle the world with blood, nor can such acts now be boasted of as being the truest and most acceptable mode of promoting the doctrine of a merciful Redeemer.

Spaniards of the present day maintain, in the face of history, that the accusations against their country on the subject of her conquest and government of America are unfounded, and that foreigners descant upon them in a spirit of rancour—both, I believe, untenable positions. But, when allegations of an injurious tendency are made against nations, they ought, as in the case of individuals, to be well supported, and probably the most unquestionable mode of doing so is to bring forward the authority of those, who, as friends or countrymen of the accused, are presumed to be less prejudiced against them, and consequently less disposed to magnify statements in which their own character and honour may be fairly said to be involved. This induces me to mention, on the moment, the name of a Spaniard of noble birth, and a distinguished soldier—Don Alonzo de Ercilla y Zuñiga, who was *present at the scenes* he paints; and though he writes in poetry, he expressly observes "in prose," that its strict conformity to *truth* is the chief merit of his work, "The Araucana." In that work is the follow-

ing stanza, on the conduct of his countrymen towards the native Americans, which, by those who have investigated the subject, will be admitted to correspond with the statements of historians, and to exhibit in eight lines what they dilate upon in volumes.

" The seas of blood in these new countries spilt,
If that my judgment be in aught of worth,
Have hopes o'erthrown on conquest that were built,
Drowning the harvests of this golden earth.
For Spanish inhumanity and guilt,
Transgressing all the laws of war, gave birth
To such atrocities as ne'er before
Deluged a conquered land with native gore."*

In the Spanish edition of General Miller's Memoirs, lately published, there is a preface written by a distinguished Spanish officer, whose political conduct and liberal principles have caused his exile from his native land and compel him, as well as many others of his countrymen, to reside in England, where happily his

* The reader who, like myself, knows but little of Spanish literature, will probably not take it amiss if I inform him, that " The Araucana" is a celebrated Spanish Epic poem, on the subject of a long and sanguinary contest in the reign of Philip II. between the Spaniards and a warlike race of Indians called Araucanians, who never were subdued to the Spanish yoke, and who still possess the unconquered province of Arauco, in South America. The stanza as above translated, together with an able critique on Ercilla's poem, may be seen in the Foreign Quart. Rev. Aug. 1829.

meritorious services during the Peninsular war are well known, and have ensured him the friendship and esteem which he deserves.

This gallant officer, with feelings as honourable as they are natural to the mind of man, has undertaken in his preface, to defend the cause of his country from those grievous charges which are recorded against her on the subject of the conquest and government of America. But there are few persons, I imagine, who will be induced by his arguments to concur in a verdict in his favour. The writer asks—"Would not those who advance these revolting accusations against Spain be better employed in censuring the numerous acts of injustice committed by their own governments upon their present colonial possessions?" And suppose they did? would that circumstance tend to palliate or diminish the aggressions which America has suffered? Again, he asks—"Did the colonies established by the republics of antiquity, or the nations they conquered, enjoy greater liberty? Do the colonies, from the Indies to Canada, now under the European yoke, enjoy greater happiness?" I leave it to the reader to frame his answer to the foregoing queries, from the evidence of history and other uncontradicted testimony, and pro-

ceed to the continuation of the writer's questions—"Why," he asks, "should Spain be exclusively attacked?" Because her misconduct surpassed that of all other nations; or, to use the words of a Spaniard, because—

> "—— Spanish inhumanity and guilt,
> *Transgressing* all the laws of war, gave birth
> To such atrocities as *ne'er before*
> Deluged a conquered land with native gore."

Nay, is not this fully admitted even by the writer himself, who observes — "Spain conquered her colonies by force of arms, at a period when morals was far less clearly defined than in the present age;" (but in that very age her conduct was universally condemned by contemporaries;) "when a mistaken piety," continues the writer, "*sacrificed its victims without compunction*, and when superstition had her altars in all countries. The state of abasement in which the natives were discovered, their manners, customs, religion, sacrifices, and mode of making war, *deprived these unhappy people of all consideration in the eyes of their conquerors*, and their *preservation or annihilation* was weighed *rather in the scale of utility than justice!*"

Again, on the subject of the subsequent government of the country, he observes—"One would hardly expect to find, in the colonies of a nation enslaved and oppressed either

by fanaticism or by the absolute power of her kings, either *good government, or justice, or liberty.*" Assuredly, there is nothing in the foregoing arguments that contradicts or weakens a single assertion I have hitherto made on the subject of the conquest and government of America. I shall now conclude with one more extract, in which I think it appears that the good judgment and impartiality of the gallant officer has evidently yielded to the ardour of patriotism, in his laudable anxiety to vindicate his country and his countrymen from accusations which, for three centuries, have stood recorded against them, without losing an iota of their gravity or force.

" Without going back to the origin of things; without giving to peculiar times and circumstances the weight they are entitled to, previous to the formation of any correct judgment, certain *inconsiderate declaimers** have accused, and continue to accuse, Spain and the Spaniards of acts of cruelty and barbarity which, under the same circumstances, they would have committed themselves; and which, in all probability, they would have *exceeded.*" Impossible!—The

* Garcillaso de la Vega, Las Casas, Ulloa, Robertson, and Humboldt,—the voice of America from Mexico to Arauco, supported by volumes of documents in the archives of Spain: —are all these *inconsiderate declaimers?*

whole civilized world, "from the Indies to Canada," will exclaim against the concluding sentence with that one emphatic word—Impossible!

Just arrived in the midst of a furious snow-storm, at the ruined village of Condor-Pacheco; but such is the state of the post-hut, the only *habitable* dwelling in the place, that through its thatchless roof the hail and snow beats loud and fast; yet not a thought turns on the inconvenience of the abode, for the thunder and lightning which "fill the eternal regions" seem to threaten utter destruction to the world! The forked lightning, glistening along the snow-covered earth, which resembles a blazing sea, renders this to me novel kind of thunder-storm dreadfully magnificent! and the tremendous peals, rolling with distracting echo from mountain to mountain, give an appalling solemnity to the scene which it is not in the power of my pen to describe,—the storms of other climes, are in truth "summer flaws" compared to such as this.

As the night advanced the fury of the tempest subsided, but the snow continuing to fall, I began to apprehend the danger of delay, and the probability of being shut up in Condor-Pacheco longer than its conveniences were likely to

render it agreeable. I therefore prevailed (not by means of money so much as by kind entreaty) upon a fine Indian youth to accompany me, and precisely at twelve o'clock at night we set out in utter darkness, in the following order: The Indian guide, with a long stick in his hand, took the lead; Marquesa, the old mule, distinguished for her sagacity in selecting a safe footing in the most dangerous passes, was mounted by my peone, and had precedence of the other animals. I followed next upon my trusty *Tortuga*, whom I have always found, as his name implies, strong and solid as a tortoise, with all the life and agility of a guanaco, giving that confidence to his rider which is so peculiarly required in this country, and without which travelling in Peru would be among the worst of the worst miseries of human life. My servant, upon *el Cura de Tucuman*, not less confident in the good qualities of his animal than myself, brought up the rear of this line of march.

When our little preparations for comfort, such as settling in the saddle-seat, securing hats from being blown away, tying on neck-handkerchiefs, and muffling up in the best possible manner were concluded, I gave the word *Adelante!* (forward!) when on we moved, not unlike a funeral *cortège* stealing to the grave in

the obscurity of night, the cold keen blast forcing the tears from our eyes in streams as plenteous as ever flowed from the source of woe.

The silence of our procession was occasionally invaded by the call of *cuidado!* (take care!) which the guide pronounced with an emphasis proportioned to the caution requisite to be observed at various places in our route. *Cuidado! cuidado! cuidado!* in tones as various as our voices, then instantly passed along the line from front to rear. This warning voice was however of but little use, for we could see nothing, our dependence was entirely on the dexterity of our animals, whose instinct induced them to take care of themselves. No control with rein, whip, or spur, was attempted, nor could it have been prudently exercised. A loud snort from Marquesa at any dubious spot, and perhaps a momentary hesitation in her step, were quite sufficient to put the others on their guard, although, on those occasions, as well as on the call of *cuidado!* I must confess, that I involuntarily pressed my spurs with a gentleness, not by any means to hurt, but just to be felt "ticklish," to the sides of Tortuga, merely for the purpose of asking 'do you hear the call?' when a whisk of the tail, a throwing back of the ears, or shake of the head, answered as

plainly as the language of the *Hounhynhyms* can express, ‘ don't bother me.’ This I always considered a guarantee for my safety, and never was deceived. An unavoidable slip or slide now and then occurred in following the footsteps of Marquesa, which Tortuga did with extraordinary precision, though much to his inconvenience ; for Marquesa being tall, long, and thin, took very wide strides, and Tortuga being low, short, and fat, was obliged to stretch much beyond his natural gait, in order to step into the holes which were made for him in the snow by his leader.

The foregoing remarks will appear puerile to some, but not so to those who may have occasionally contracted something more than an ordinary feeling of interest for the animals that have faithfully served them, and have in fact become, in a long and useful companionship, particularly on a journey, objects of their greatest care and anxiety. For my own part, I never sat down to any meal after a day's journey, before I had provided, in the best manner that circumstances allowed, for the comfort of my animals. Often have I shared liberally and honourably my portion of bread with Tortuga when on short commons, also when we have halted for a few minutes to take breath after

ascending a mountain. These little duties we fairly owe to the dumb slaves of our will, and their patient and valuable services are assuredly deserving of them all.

We groped our way in the manner I have described for upwards of fifteen miles through the 'palpable obscure,' when the barking of dogs announced that a dwelling of some sort was at hand, and precisely at five o'clock in the morning of the ——

13th, we arrived at the post of Venta del Medio. Here I find the absolute necessity of a pen from the 'fretful porcupine' and ink of blackest hue to enable me to convey to any English gentleman who has never left his native land, a true picture of the abode at which for the last four hours I had longed with infinite impatience to arrive. The darkness of night, which still continued, was now, I felt, rather to be wished for than regretted, as it tended to conceal, in a great degree, the abomination of this public *accommodation.* Indeed, I fancied that the morning, in pity for my situation, was tardier than usual in dawning, and as for the sun, he did not appear at all, as if ashamed that his beams should be seen in contact with so much earthly misery. Oh! Connaught dear! Oh! Galway for ever! Oh!

'sweet Westmathe!' Oh! 'nate Athlone, Dungarvan, and Tralee!' and all others, ye sanctuaries of penury, poverty, and want! how preferable would have been to me the worst of your destitute hovels at the end of my cold cheerless ride this dreary morning!

I leaned against a wall for half an hour, more for the sake of giving that short time for rest to the animals than to myself, and then continued my journey to Oruro, still ten leagues distant, without hope of morsel for man or beast; the whole way (with the exception of a village on the left, *off* the road) being an unpeopled desert. My own stock, scanty at setting out, was all demolished, and my journey, owing to the snow storms, was protracted a day beyond the time that would otherwise have been required to perform it.

I had not ridden many miles when, turning out of the valley, a perfectly level plain of ocean-like space extended before me; travelling became easy for the animals, but the prospect, not very interesting, was rendered less so by a piercing cold wind, which blew with violence from the snow-covered Cordilleras. On the western side, at the extremity of this plain, stands the respectable and once wealthy town of Oruro, where I arrived in little more than

six hours after my departure from Abomination Hut. To say that the party, master, man, and beast, were not all weary and hungry, is what no one expects, but it would be the height of ingratitude to omit that, in the house of Don Manuel Tovar, we all found a hearty welcome, good cheer, and comfortable repose; and when I add, that I had been five whole days without drawing off my boots or lying upon a bed, it cannot be a subject of surprise that, on retiring to rest at my journey's end, I should have slept without symptoms of life for thirteen happy, happy hours.

A ride of nearly two hundred miles in very severe weather, under every privation, deserves at least the thanks of those in whose service it has been performed, and the Directors can scarcely desire a stronger proof of the zeal and diligence of their officers in this country, not one of whom, I must in justice acknowledge, but would have performed as much with equal alacrity and good-will as myself had it been required of him.

It was gratifying to find that my journey was not in vain, for I found the packet of papers upon the table of the agent, where they would have remained, during his correctly reported absence in a distant part of the coun-

try. But on the evening of my arrival a courier was dispatched to Arica, and by him I forwarded the important documents.

The present population of Oruro does not exceed four thousand souls, not half of what it possessed before the Revolution, and these are in great indigence, owing to the destruction of their mines of silver and tin, which formerly supported a brisk and extensive commerce, now nearly extinct from want of those resources which were absorbed in the all-consuming evils of civil war. The tin-mines of Oruro have long been famous, and the silver mines were at one period among the most productive in Peru, but being of late years abandoned, they have filled with water, which in this country they have not machinery for emptying, neither have they money for applying any other efficacious means to that purpose. Here were many families of enormous wealth, if we may judge from the profusion of silver articles which they are said to have possessed. I shall mention the name of Don Juan Rodrigues, because my present host was acquainted with him, and had *seen* the silver, in the account of which I have been assured by others that there is no exaggeration.

Rodrigues was proprietor of a famous silver

mine in the vicinity of Oruro, which was so productive, that he discarded from his house all articles of glass, delf, or crockery-ware, and replaced them by others made from the silver of his mine. Utensils of the most common use, as well as articles of luxury and ornament, such as pier-tables in the principal apartments, frames of pictures and of mirrors, foot-stools, pots, and pans, were all of silver. "And," said the person, when relating the foregoing, "do you see that trough in the court-yard?" pointing to a very large stone trough for the purpose of watering mules and other animals; "I do assure you that Señor Rodrigues had two of much larger size for the same purpose, of pure and solid silver; and before the Revolution there were three or four houses in Oruro that could boast of having quite as much."

Those who have read the accounts of early travellers in these countries must have noted instances of even greater riches than the foregoing. Let us give one example from Betagh's travels in 1720, when, in alluding to the wealth of Chili, it is observed that, "those who are easy in their circumstances and retire to Saint Yago, live in such a manner as sufficiently to demonstrate their riches, since all their utensils,

even those that are most common, are of pure gold." Now, had Captain Betagh said, instead of "*all*," "*many* of their utensils were of pure gold," we should not feel so disposed, as we naturally are, to think that he said the thing that was not.

Rodrigues, from his great influence in Oruro, was supposed to have been implicated in the insurrection of the Indians, under the Cacique Tupac Amaro, in 1780, and was in consequence arrested by the Spanish authorities and sent prisoner to Buenos Ayres, where he remained in confinement for upwards of twenty years, and died on being restored to liberty at the breaking out of the late Revolution.

I do not think that I should have had occasion to mention mine hostess of Oruro, a fair, fresh, *embonpoint* woman, of the teeming age of twenty, and rosy with health, had it not been for the following occurrence, which, although I am told it is not unusual in South America, I never before had the gratification of witnessing. A fine chubby boy was playing in a court before the window at which the lady of the house and I were sitting in conversation, when suddenly she called out "Bernardo! come, my son, come, Bernardo, and take it!" at the same time putting aside her neck-handkerchief, and with her

right hand gently upraising her left breast, she held it out in its full exuberance, alluring the boy, and saying, "Come! see here, Bernardo!" as when a delicious peach or ripe cherry is presented to tantalize a child. The urchin immediately came running in, and, standing on tiptoe, with outstretched neck and lips elongated with eagerness, endeavoured to reach the proffered gift, which his mother enabled him to do by a slight inclination towards him; then with a gentle pressure of her hand upon the azure veins that swelled the yielding marble, she assisted Nature's mellifluent stream through its ruby channel, until the boy, with a breathless "Hah!" such as usually follows a hearty draught, withdrew satisfied, and scampered off to continue his play in the court. The boy was three years of age, and his appearance did ample justice to this occasional sustenance from the maternal fount. I smiled, and the mother smiled when she saw me smiling, for there are few women who are not conscious of their charms; but although there certainly was much to admire in the full and uninterrupted view of love's elysium, which neither men nor gods can look on with indifference, yet my smile was mistaken, if it was imagined that it was excited by any thing more than the novelty of seeing

a grown boy run to his mother as to a fountain to satisfy his thirst.

It has appeared to me, though probably it is not actually the fact, that in South America parents are more fond of, more doating upon, their children, than in any other country that I have been in ; and there is one general practice which supports this idea, that of a newly-married couple being seldom permitted, however ample their means, to leave the house of their fathers to set up a separate establishment. The bride is either taken to the family of her husband, and with all her increase becomes a member of it, or the husband goes to that of his bride, where, if he thinks fit, he may take up his abode for life. I am aware that there are exceptions to this practice, particularly in Buenos Ayres, since its free communication with Europeans, and the consequent *refinement* of society ; it is, nevertheless, very general throughout the country, and is grounded on the reluctance with which parents separate from their children.

CHAPTER II.

Departure from Oruro. — Perplexity. — Sudden flash of thought.—Welcome in the houses of the Clergy.—Chicha. —Certain prejudices.—Scene in a Dormitory.—Bloom of youth and decrepitude of age.—A splendid and imposing scene at sunrise. — Chimborazo not the highest of the Andes.

After such a journey as that to Oruro, two days' rest will scarcely be considered an unreasonable indulgence either to man or horse; at the expiration of that time, having laid in a stock for the road, I put my cavalcade in motion, and, on the 16th of September, set out to return to Potosi. I had proceeded about a mile from Oruro, when I met the courier, who delivered to me a packet of letters, which he had been directed to keep at hand, in the expectation of meeting me, according to directions given to that purpose when I left Potosi.

Among the letters there was one from our chief miner, Baron von Czettritz, at La Paz, stating that, notwithstanding what I had written to him on the necessity of stopping all farther expenses in acquiring mines for the Company, he thought it his duty to follow the instructions previously given to him by the chief commissioner; and, in conformity with them, he now requested that I might send him funds forthwith, it being his intention to set out in a few days from La Paz, to inspect a gold mine and another of quicksilver, which had been recently offered to him, under circumstances so very advantageous that, if upon inspection they turned out equal to report, he would secure them for the Association. This intimation induced me to suppose, either that the baron was still ignorant of the change which had taken place in our circumstances; or that, being, as he really was, somewhat captious on the subject of his rank as chief miner, he was unwilling to condescend to acknowledge himself subordinate to the directions of any one except the chief commissioner, and therefore declined obedience to my injunctions to cease from all speculations. The "Señor Secretario" might, by possibility, be a great man in his own department, and might probably understand

mending pens, but he had no knowledge of *mining*, and could have no control over the Baron Herrmann von Czettritz. "There is nothing like leather" would be a very fit motto for many persons. High as was the baron's estimation of the arts and sciences, and of knowledge in general, it was far surpassed by that in which he held mines and mining. The foregoing remark might be thought to savour a little of jealousy on my part, were I to conceal that this very intelligent gentleman was as zealous in the performance of his duty towards his employers as any individual in the Association; and no one had a higher opinion than myself of his prudence and judgment in what might, or might not, be advantageous to its interests. This opinion, on the present occasion led to the following soliloquy.

"The state of glorious uncertainty in which the Directors have placed us, with respect to our future proceedings, makes caution doubly necessary; for, in the event of our operations being continued, and of my opposing and preventing that which competent persons may hereafter prove would have been of infinite advantage, I necessarily expose myself to censure. Again, in the event of the speculation being abandoned, if I incur expenses which, in conse-

quence of that abandonment, turn out to be fruitless, I am equally exposed to censure, and liable to be charged with the waste of funds. I see on the one hand very favourable prospects if our preliminary steps are followed up, and I admit the importance of making promising acquisitions 'under advantageous circumstances.' The arrival of our ship, with engineers, artificers, and a cargo of twenty thousand pounds in value, is a strong inducement to suppose that our operations *will* be continued, and prevents the necessity of putting an immediate stop to our proceedings. On the other hand, I see the dilemma in which we are placed by the protest of the chief commissioner's draft, and latterly, that dilemma has been increased by a division amongst the Directors."

These were my inward reasonings; but, besides being naturally averse to indulge sentiments of despondency, I could not summon resolution to rob myself so suddenly of the imaginary riches I had long since acquired from the mines of Peru, a great portion of which I had even expended by anticipation in the construction of aërial castles, some of which I had completely roofed in; to say nothing of sundry excellent plans which I had devised for the future enjoyment of life in enviable luxury and bliss.

None of these on the present occasion could I willingly forego; nor could I, in good truth, see any thing in our difficulties that might not ultimately be overcome.

With respect to the projects of Baron Czettritz, I was aware that our chief commissioner intended to fix an establishment in the province of La Paz; and although I had not the means of sending funds to the baron, I did not wish, in my ignorance of the advantageous offers made to him, blindly to oppose his views; therefore, I decided upon writing on the first opportunity a full account of the complexion which our affairs had taken at home, leaving it to his own good judgment to direct his proceedings.

After reading the other letters delivered to me by the courier, two of which were from my friends Señor Christobal and Mr. Scriviner, 'hoping I was very well,' and informing me that Potosi remained precisely as I had left it, I continued my journey.

I travelled nearly half a mile, when, with the suddenness of the lightning that flashed over the distant Cordillera, a thought struck me, of so happy a turn, that the execution of it could not possibly be attended with any inconvenience except to myself alone, and that

was—a journey to La Paz, where an interview of half an hour with the baron would, I felt satisfied, enable us to act with more harmony between ourselves, and with more advantage to our employers, than the consumption of a whole quire of paper in epistolary correspondence. Three minutes elapsed in considering this new idea, for it is not in an *instant* that any person on a journey of two hundred miles can be expected to resolve on turning short round in the middle of the road, to ride nearly that same distance in a contrary direction.

When I wheeled my horse round, my peones followed in dubious perplexity on the suddenness of the manœuvre, which, from their conversation, now and then borne by the breeze to my ear, I could ascertain had continued to occupy them with strange conjectures during ten leagues over a dead flat plain, when we arrived at the village of Caracolla. The large church, whose bells were chiming, indicated the residence of a curate, where I stopped for the night.

There is something peculiarly gratifying in the confidence of welcome, with which in this country a traveller of any degree of respectability may take up his abode at the houses of the clergy, in the different towns or villages on

his route.—"Where is the house of the Father Curate?" is the usual question asked by a stranger on entering a village; and on alighting at the door, if the Father is at home, and happens not to be asleep, (when none dare disturb him,) the only preliminary requisite, in taking possession of the quarters, is to make an obeisance and say—"Good-morrow, to you Señor Cura!" A smile of welcome, with a few accompanying words of kindness, and a shake of the hand from the Cura, establishes you, in nine cases out of ten, with as much ease and freedom as in your own house. The Father then turns to the peones and servants, who have all dismounted, anxiously waiting to catch his eye in its glances round, when he pronounces the usual benediction — "God bless you, my sons!" upon which they respectfully take off their hats and say, "God keep your reverence!" They then unload the baggage and place it in the apartment destined for these passing visits: and this operation the casual absence of the curate in no way prevents, for then the *ama* (housekeeper,) or perhaps "the niece," makes the stranger equally welcome.

I do not say, that in all cases good cheer is to be met with, or that in any case the English traveller will find such comforts as in Eng-

land are well known to be the usual attributes of the "snug parsonage." Throughout the British dominions, "parsonage" and "comfort" go together as naturally and inseparably as "ham and chicken." Here is no such enviable appendage to a benefice as the former, and what is considered "comfort" in decent life in England is yet unknown. As to chickens and fowls, when boiled to rags, they are torn to pieces without a single thought of ham or bacon, or even a suspicion that the absence of the latter is an outrageous violation of the rules of domestic economy as practised with us.

The traveller, however, frequently finds all the convenience he expects, taking it for granted, that he is aware of the very few wants of the natives, and is satisfied to comply with their manners and customs. The curate is always useful in recommending to his lodgers those persons in the village or neighbourhood who can best supply forage for the animals, or any little necessary for themselves; and if the charges happen to be a little unreasonable, a few kind words from the *Padre* will accommodate the difference to the satisfaction of all.

I found the village of Caracolla crowded with Indians and others, the inhabitants old

and young, of both sexes, from the neighbouring and the distant villages, who had assembled in their gayest attire to celebrate the great holiday of the "Elevation of the Cross," which, according to the Roman calendar, this day proves to be. Mass was performed in all the dignity of village pomp; processions followed, in which were groups fantastically dressed in masquerade; some carrying banners, some playing wild music upon flageolets, horns, drums, and trumpets, with the vocal accompaniment of shouts and screams. Their appearance before the house of the curate can scarcely be more accurately described than by the following lines:—

> "The men with the kettle-drums entered the gate,
> Dub—rub-a-dub, dub—the trumpeters follow'd,
> Tantara, tantara—then all the boys holla'd."
>
> SWIFT.

Infinite, indeed, was the mirth of all, which was kept up by dancing, singing, and drinking *chicha* to excess. This latter part of the ceremony is never omitted upon the feasts and holidays of these people, which are very seldom known to terminate in those riotous outrages that so frequently occur at popular meetings, in countries where pretensions to civilization are carried to a greater pitch.

Chicha is the favourite beverage of the South American Indians, and also of many who consider it an insult to be called Indians. The manner in which it is made, as I have frequently witnessed at Potosi, is as follows :—

A quantity of Indian corn is pounded into a fine powder and placed in a heap, round which as many old women (I always observed they were old women) as can form a convenient circle sit down upon the ground, and, filling their mouths with the powder, chew it into a paste—perhaps "*mumble*" would be the appropriate term, for to "chew," I presume, there must be teeth, but in this operation the performers are toothless. When the paste, then, is mumbled to a sufficient consistency, it is taken out of the mouth, and rolled between the palms of the hands into a ball, generally about the size of a grape-shot, but varying, of course, according to the capacity of the mouth from which the substance is taken. The balls are piled in a pyramid, until the flour of the *mais* is finished; they are then placed upon a fire to bake. After this, they are put into a given quantity of water, where they ferment; I am not aware that any other ingredient is used. The fermentation forms the beverage called "chicha," which is the nectar of the Indians, and, al-

though inebriating, it is by no means injurious to health. In hot weather, I must acknowledge, notwithstanding the process, which is a most unsightly scene to witness, a draught of chicha is extremely grateful; though I know not how to describe the taste, nearer than what may be imagined would be obtained by a mixture of small beer and indifferent cyder, yet is it considered as nutritious among the labouring classes as porter is in England.

The curate's house, in dimensions and in the distribution of the apartments, would, in Connaught, be called a very good cabin; and although it possessed neither chair nor table, a mud bench against the wall of the apartment being the seat, and a square mud-built heap near it doing permanent duty as a table, yet were there large silver dishes, in which were served up an excellent *chupé*, (mutton broth) and some very good potatoes with their jackets on. The drinking cups of the same metal stood in the sill of a window, and when I asked for water to wash my hands before dinner, it was brought to me by the *ama* in a capacious utensil, also of silver; certain prejudices, however, induced me politely to decline availing myself of it for *that* purpose, which not a little surprised the *ama*, who assured me that the curate

never used any thing else, and that, in the domestic services of the house, it had long

" ——— contrived a double debt to pay."

After partaking of a very good supper, I spread my horse sheets in the middle of the floor, and, wrapped in my poncho, with my saddle under my head, in spite of the uproarious mirth of the villagers without, I soon ceased to think of the manners, customs, fancies, antipathies, whims, and oddities, of the world, which vary every day we live and every mile we go.

As the night advanced, the merriment of the village festival subsided, and wearied parties gradually filled the house of the curate, to whom, as to me, the roof for a covering and the floor for a bed were freely bestowed; and a much greater number availed themselves of this hospitality than it was ever contemplated, in the construction of the house, should one day be entertained within its walls. The frequent stepping over me and on me, and the whisperings and bustling of the retiring parties, roused me from my comfortable sleep, and occasioned for a moment that sort of fretful ill-humour which usually occurs on being unexpectedly or unnecessarily disturbed. It was, however, *only* for a moment, for upon raising

my head and looking round me, a feeling of a very opposite kind was excited by the curious scene in which I found myself the centre.

A large church taper, a perquisite I presume of his reverence's, was supported on the floor in the middle of the apartment—I thought of the pillar of light and the Israelites, but for the life of me I cannot tell why. By the glare of this taper, I counted seventeen persons, male and female, some of them most fantastically dressed, reposing and preparing for repose. The men laid themselves down just as they came in and chanced to find a vacant space upon the floor. The females all said an *Ave-maria*, told their beads, crossed themselves, and undressed; then, placing their thickly quilted petticoats for a bed, they also lay down *sans ceremonie* as they best could, covering themselves with their shawls:—

> "There they were, the girls and boys,
> As thick as hasty-pudding."

Two young Cholas, fifteen or sixteen years of age, were close at the foot of where I had extended myself for the night; but, had they been in the remotest corner of our sty-like dormitory, they must have attracted the particular attention of a stranger. They had, no

doubt, been acting some principal characters in the processions of the day, for they represented precisely those figures, which we so often see in rather gaudy colours as emblems of America, and which, with the other quarters of the world, are favourite ornaments in cottages and villages among the humble amateurs of the fine arts. The Cholas, having performed their devotions, and partly divested themselves of their dresses, mutually assisted in arranging and plaiting their long shining tresses, literally glistening with jet, which partly hung down their finely-formed bronze-coloured shoulders, and partly concealed in front charms of which they themselves, simple village maids! seemed unconscious, but of which an eastern empress might have been justly proud. Their necks, meaning of course that part of the person which ladies blushingly term 'bosom,' were of delightful amplitude; their arms *potelé*, as the French term it; and the breadth across the hips prodigious.

The Chola girls generally, from the age of fourteen to eighteen, have remarkably fine busts, good teeth, well-turned limbs, plump cheeks, &c. and sometimes countenances full of animation, and much pleasing feminine expression. Their raven locks are of most lux-

riant growth, and generally descend half-way down the person—

"Increasing beauties they invade;"

but, although they bestow much pains on the hair, they do not in all cases succeed in keeping it perfectly clean: the neatness, however, with which they plait it into tresses, cannot be exceeded by the first-rate artists in the profession of ornamental hair-dressing. I have more than once offered two ounces of gold to Peruvian girls in humble life for their head of hair, and although that sum (between six and seven pounds) would have been wealth to them, it was not sufficient to tempt them, even for a lovers' sake, to apply the scissors.

The charms and attractions to which I have alluded desert the native females, in this country, at an age in which they may frequently be seen in full bloom in England, where they continue in some cases to attract admiration even in a green old age. Here they flourish, fade, and die, within the space of a few short years, and a vestige of them is seldom to be seen in an elderly woman.

The extremely opposite effects produced upon the mind within the space of a few minutes, by being in contact with the bloom of youth

NIGHT SCENE IN THE CURATE'S HOUSE.

and the decrepitude of age, no man had a fairer opportunity of experiencing than I had in the night scene at the curate's house.

After being disturbed, I had raised myself on my elbow and was reposing with my head on my hand, viewing at my ease, not the phantoms of a dream, but in charming reality—

> " —— Nymphs with loosely flowing hair,
> With buskin'd legs and bosoms bare,
> Their waists with myrtle girdle bound,
> Their brows with Indian feathers crown'd,"

seated at the foot of my bed-place, arranging those locks which lovers might have wished to tangle, and talking, unconcerned about all around them, of the amusements of the day, when suddenly a push at my back, accompanied with a loud sigh, such as is heaved in excessive weariness, induced me to turn round, and to my unutterable confusion, I found an old wizened, winter-apple-looking creature laying her bones beside me as closely as she could well do without becoming the actual partner of my bed. I had nothing to say on the score of " familiarity," for it may easily be conjectured that, in my situation, the very best argument I could have adduced in favour of rank or birth, or on the propriety of keeping

at a respectful distance from superiors, could not have obtained for me an iota of distinction, or, what was more to be desired, one inch of ground.

The wife of Potiphar has been represented by painters as possessing every charm; not having had the same temptation as Joseph, I cannot lay claim to the same virtuous forbearance; but I may safely say that, had Joseph wrapped his garment round him as closely as I wrapped myself in my poncho, when shrinking to avoid contact with my neighbour, it must have taken something more than female strength to have wrenched it from his grasp; and although it is true that no attempt was purposely made to disturb me, nor was there, I am sure, any sinister design of assailing my fortitude, yet would I have given the world to have had the wings even of a bat to fly from so powerful an antidote to every sensation of the tender passion, and which became doubly revolting from its sudden contrast with the objects I had been previously contemplating to a pitch of poetical rapture.

Having recoiled from this Hecate as much as was in my power, but far from so much as I desired, I was just about to wish her at the abode of evil spirits, when one of the Cholas

with finger and thumb extinguished the taper, and in the same instant all was darkness and silence.

17th. Soft shades of light from the blushing east had just announced the approach of day, when I awoke and immediately prepared to depart, but first wondered within myself how I could have slept in the midst of such a din as now assailed my ears in discordant tones of *thorough-bass*, proving with full effect the propriety and force of the phrase, "sonorous silence." Soon the feeble gray of morning enabled me to distinguish the objects around, when, dreading to discover the old civet-cat that had crouched behind me, I looked anxiously upon those with whom I was in immediate contact. But lo! a second cause of wonder occurred, on finding myself —— between the two young Cholas! How I got there!—as well as I can guess,—I cannot tell! But it may have been, that in my sleep, haunted by the phantom of decrepitude, I receded timorously towards corporeal protection, and thus must have gradually descended into my more desirable position. Even in the profoundest sleep, many persons leave their comfortable beds without any other object than to walk, and talk, and jump out of windows; but here, though

prudery, that usual mask of the impurest minds, may condemn, yet those of a less gloomy turn of thought will allow, that I merely abandoned the chill sterility of winter for the genial luxuriance of summer—that I had fled from a bleak inhospitable desert, to repose myself in the delightful regions between the tropics.

When about to leave my close quarters, and in the act of stepping over the Chola between me and the door-way, the large awkward silver spurs, with which my heels were armed, caught in the petticoat which covered her, and, in the exertion to save myself from falling, I dragged off the garment. This instantly roused the slumbering Chola, whom I had no difficulty in assuring of the perfectly unintentional accident, and indeed her laughing black eye, as it sparkled in the twilight, indicated any thing but anger. When she had disengaged my spur, I replaced the petticoat with a becoming assiduity to the full as smoothly as it was before, then, having given, with all due effect, a farewell salute, within ten minutes afterwards I was pursuing my journey to La Paz.

I travelled about eighteen miles before breakfast, then twenty-five more, and stopped at Sicasica, formerly a neat and respectable town, with between three and four thousand inha-

bitants, now nearly ruined, and with scarcely as many hundreds. In the neighbourhood are several silver mines, which have been, and still may be, worked with great advantage. Flocks and herds, which before the Revolution covered the rich pastures of this part of the country, have not yet recovered from the depredations they suffered. Desolation and poverty are everywhere manifest; the post-house, however, is good, and the host an obliging, respectable man.

18th. A fine but cold day. I travelled about forty miles to the ruined village of Calamarca; the road was flat and good, and on each side were hills of a smaller size, with smoother and more verdant surface than I had hitherto seen in Peru. Several were in a state of cultivation by the Indians; all of them had evidently been so formerly.

19th. Fine weather. By being on my journey a full hour before the morning dawned, I had an opportunity of beholding at sunrise a scene of magnificence scarcely to be surpassed in the world. Its imposing effects upon my mind, when day first developed the object to my view, it is utterly impossible for me to describe; but the scene was this.—High in the blue crystal vault, and immediately be-

fore me, as I rode thoughtlessly along, I perceived a brilliant streak resembling burnished gold, dazzling to look on, and wonderfully contrasted with the shades of night, which still lingered upon the world beneath ; for to us the sun had not yet risen, though the sombre profiles of the Cordilleras might be distinctly traced through the departing gloom. Imperceptibly the golden effulgence blended with a field of white, glistening in vestal purity, and, expanding downwards, gradually assumed the form of a pyramid of silver of immeasurable base. I stopped in mute amazement, doubtful of what I beheld. Day gently broke, and the tops of distant mountains glittered in the early beams ; the sun then rose, or rather *rushed* upon the silent world, in a full blazing flood of morning splendour, and at the same moment the stupendous Ylimani, the giant of the Andes, in all the pomp of mountain majesty, burst upon my view.

My first feeling was a sense of delight, with an expansion of soul producing positive rapture. Never before did I feel myself endowed with equal energy, or experience such an elevation of sentiment. Never did I feel myself less, so quickly did that sentiment subside into devout humility. Admiration, reverence, and awe,

with a consciousness of human inferiority, were the mingled feelings of my heart in contemplating this terrestrial manifestation of the glory of God. Here! I exclaimed with fervour and delight—here do I behold the sublime and beautiful, spontaneously produced in the great page of Nature by the Omnipotence and providence of Nature's God.

That the majestic mountain of Ylimani, rearing its prodigious bulk high into the region of eternal snow, existed in the district of La Paz, I was well aware, and I knew that I should see it; but, unprepared as I was at the time, besides being full thirty miles distant, it was altogether unexpected; and the glare of magnificence in which it so suddenly and, to appearance, so closely presented itself, absolutely surpassing imagination, occasioned in a stronger degree those sensations, which a scene so truly imposing, in the midst of solitary grandeur, was well calculated to inspire. They who have witnessed and enjoyed wild and magnificent scenery, such as this, must also have *felt* the transport it occasions; they will admit that a superior order of sentiment accompanies the contemplation of such wondrous works, and that, in the words of M. Humboldt, "*elle agrandit l'ame de ceux qui se plaisent dans le calme des méditations solitaires.*"

Chimborazo has long passed for the highest of the Cordilleras, and, until the discovery of the Himalaya, was supposed to be the highest mountain in the world. M. Humboldt, as he himself observes, "had the pleasure of seeing a greater extent of mountains

than any other geognost," but he did not pursue his travels to this part of the Andes, where subsequent travellers have ascertained the height of the Ylimani to be 21,800 feet above the level of the sea, exceeding that of Chimborazo by 350 feet—no very great difference, it may perhaps be said, in subjects of such vast dimensions; but still, quite sufficient to take from the latter the palm of *superlative* magnitude and grandeur in the great chain of the Andes.

Mr. Pentland, who measured the Ylimani in 1826, gave me his calculations with the remark, that " they required revision;" consequently they were not intended to go forth as accurate. At a subsequent period, I was informed by our chief commissioner, who took a warm interest in these subjects, that the height of Ylimani had been given to him as 21,800 feet, which agrees with that given to me by Mr. Pentland, and this appears to be corroborated by the observations of Doctor Redhead.

The Ylimani, and the neighbouring mountains, " are composed of transition slate chiefly, traversed by numerous veins of quartz, containing auriferous pyrites, and gold in small

quantities." That such an immense mountain should be composed of transition slate instead of granite has struck some persons as a matter of surprise; it appears, however, that "the Andes are chiefly composed of porphyry and *not* of granite."

CHAPTER III.

Immense space without a single tree.—An enigma.—Representation of a strange and wonderful scene.—Arrival in the city of La Paz.—Hospitality of the Natives fairly put to the test.—Rather unusual and somewhat difficult experiment.—Don Manuel.—Dress of the peasant girls of La Paz.—Carne con cuero.—The Tordo.—Apology for accusations made against the good faith of South Americans.—Disagreeable feeling in shamming the agreeable.

HAVING ridden about fifteen miles, I stopped at the post-house of Ventilla to refresh the horses and to breakfast; but at this wretched abode there was nothing except a few dried beans and some Indian corn, which is the principal food of these poor people, and indeed, wherever good Indian corn is to be had, there can be no complaint of starvation; but, nutritious as it certainly is, a hungry traveller desires something more substantial, and is not easily recon-

ciled to such frugal fare. For horses and mules there cannot be a better food.

The city of La Paz was still twelve to fifteen miles distant: thither, with patience, which from custom and necessity I may now claim as a virtue, I directed my infinitely more patient Tortuga. The road lay over a flat table-land, for the most part covered with loose stones, and with a low green shrub; a tree is rarely to be seen by the traveller in a distance of nearly five hundred miles, commencing three or four posts to the southward of Potosi and journeying in the direction I have taken; but, a few leagues beyond La Paz is a district called Yungas, where, in forests producing the celebrated Peruvian bark, are various kinds of the finest timber.

After travelling twelve, thirteen, and, as I imagined, every mile of the distance from Ventilla to La Paz, my astonishment was excited by not perceiving on so level a plain any object indicating the existence of a town. Sundry groups of Indians, droves of mules, llamas, and asses, some unladen, some with burthens, were indeed to be seen passing and repassing, as in the bustle of business; but no building or habitation whatever: no turret, dome, or steeple, of church or convent appeared in view,

although the tolling of their bells occasionally struck faintly on the ear. Huge, barren, weather-beaten rocks, and snow-covered mountains, apparently close at hand, rose directly before me, and presented an impassable barrier.

I could not conceive where I was to find a town; and, as I rode onwards in strange perplexity endeavouring to solve the enigma, I arrived suddenly at the verge of an abrupt and prodigious precipice, at the bottom of which I beheld, in diminutive perspective, the large and populous city of La Paz. I had frequently been told of the peculiar situation and scenery of this place; but oh! "how imperfect is expression!" and how much do I feel at this moment the want of descriptive power! Suffer me, however, gentle reader, to convey to your imagination, by my own method of sketching, a feeble representation of the curious, the pleasing, the wonderful scene, that here presented itself.

Fancy yourself travelling leisurely along upon a high table, or any other plane that you may like better. This is bounded by a huge mountainous rampart, in which, be it remembered, is one of the greatest, grandest mountains on the globe, and far surpassing

"Those wonders of the world so chronicled by Fame:"

the giant of the *Cordillera de los Andes* cannot be considered in any less character. These mountains appear to rise out of the plain on which you are riding, and your expectation is, that you must actually arrive at them, for no obstacle is to be seen between you and them.

Whilst you are musing on the how and the where your journey is to end, the distance being already performed, which, with your disposition to rest, increases your impatience to discover the town, you arrive unexpectedly at the edge of the plain, and behold a vast gulf at your feet, in the bottom of which appears a town very regularly built with packs of cards. The first *coup-d'œil* of La Paz conveys precisely this idea ; the red-tiled roofs and white fronts of the houses answering admirably for hearts and diamonds, and the smoked roofs and dingy mud walls of the Indian *rancios*, equally well for spades and clubs. Through this fairy town may be faintly seen, winding with occasional interruptions, a silver thread marked with specks of frothy white, which, upon approaching, proves to be a mountain-torrent, leaping from rock to rock, and sweeping through the valley. In casting a glance farther round, you perceive squares and patches of every shade of green and yellow, which, to a European, is perhaps

the most striking part of the interesting scene. Corn, and fruit, and vegetables, and crops of every kind, may be seen in all their stages, from the act of sowing to that of gathering them in;—here, a field of barley luxuriantly green:—there, another in full maturity, which the Indians are busily reaping:—next to it, a crop just appearing above the ground:—farther on, another arrived at half its growth:—beyond it, a man guiding a pair of oxen, yoked to a shapeless stick, the point of which scratches the earth sufficiently for the reception of the seed, which another man is scattering in the furrows:—trees bearing fruit, and at the same time putting forth buds and blossoms, complete the scene of luxuriance. I beheld in the full beauty of truth, that charming landscape in the valley of Quito, depicted by Marmontel in his interesting tale of "The Incas."*

In a word, was I not actually in that clime which the poet describes merely as imaginary—

> "Where western gales eternally reside,
> And all the seasons lavish all their pride;
> Blossoms, and fruits, and flowers together rise,
> And the whole year in gay confusion lies?"

* "Jamais ce vallon ne connut l'alternative des saisons; jamais l'hiver n'a dépouillé ses rians coteaux; jamais l'été

Yet it requires only to raise the eyes from the lap of this fruitful Eden to behold the widest contrast in the realms of Nature. Naked and arid rocks rise in mural precipices around: high above these, mountains beaten by furious tempests, frown in all the bleakness of sterility: higher still, the tops of others, reposing in the region of eternal snow, glisten uninfluenced in the presence of a tropical sun.

I stopped for some minutes on the verge of the precipice to look upon a scene so wonderfully strange; indeed, my horse, of his own accord, made the first pause, and with outstretched neck, ears advanced, and frequent snorting, showed that he was not unaware of the abyss beneath, and seemed to inquire how it was to be descended, for the road, in a sudden turn, winding round the face of the precipice, is at first completely concealed from view; and, although it appeared as if I could have 'thrown a biscuit' into the town from the heights where I first discovered it, a short league is the calculated distance, and full three-quarters of an hour were occupied in descending, before I

n'a brûlé ses campagnes. Le laboureur y choisit le tems de la culture et de la moisson. Un sillon y sépare le printemps de l'automne; la naissance et la maturité s'y touchent; l'arbre, sur le même rameau, réunit les fleurs et les fruits."

entered the suburbs. Here, again, I was surprised to find that the town, which, from the height I had just left, appeared to be upon a flat, was in reality built upon hills, and that some of the streets were extremely steep, which circumstance alone must convey a tolerable idea of the depth of the valley in which the city of La Paz is situated. Among the objects which composed this singular and wonderful scenery, the huge condor, on his broad expanded wings, soaring over the abyss, must not be forgotten.

I went from *tambo* to *tambo* in search of a lodging, but found them all full of travelling merchants and muleteers, or affording such indifferent accommodation as I saw no necessity for putting up with in a flourishing city where better might be had. John Caspar Lavater truly says, that "he who is content with common, gross, or homely objects, is a vulgar being, incapable of sentiment, and undeserving of better." This of course does not apply to the generally discontented man, whom nothing can satisfy; but to him who, happening to have the choice of good or bad, is indifferent about it, and disregards those little comforts which others delight in having around them. Money

I did not want; but there are occasions where money is of no use, and those occasions occur in South America more frequently, perhaps, than in any other part of the world.

I wandered up and down the streets, literally worn out with fatigue and hunger, my peones and my poor animals not less so than myself. Here I am, said I, an utter stranger, and in absolute want of bed and board; this is a fair opportunity for putting to the test those often proffered services and complimentary generosities of a South American. I may now ascertain if those compliments, in which he is so prone to indulge at first sight, even towards those of whom he knows nothing, are in all cases merely habitual empty ceremonials; or, if they have not sometimes the solid basis of honesty and liberality.

"*Paisano!*" said I, to the first decent person who passed, (*countryman* being the term which strangers use in civilly accosting each other in this country) "*paisano!*" said I, "pray whose house is that?" pointing to a very large and respectable-looking mansion, with a fine old-fashioned gateway to the street. "That is the house of Don Manuel Valdivien," replied the stranger.—"*Que tal es?*" "What sort of a fellow is he?" said I.—"Oh! *mui hombre de bien, excelente sujeto,*" "A worthy, excellent man," replied

the stranger. Good! thought I to myself.—"Is he married?" said I.—"Yes, and has a family," said the stranger.—"*Y que tal la muger?*" "And what sort of a *fellow* is the wife?" asked I.—"*Tal qual! es àlgo viva, pero no es nada.*" "So, so!—rather hasty, but that 's nothing," replied the stranger, adding, as in exculpation, "*Dicen que es amable, pero no tanto como su marido.*" "They say she is amiable, but not quite so much so as her husband." There may be no great harm in that, said I to myself.—"Do you think, *paisano*," said I, "that I could obtain a lodging in the house?"—"*Y porque no?*" "And why not? There is plenty of room for you and for your horses also: do you wish that I should accompany you?" said the stranger.—"What!" said I, "have you any share in the house; or are you acquainted with Don Manuel Valdivien?"—"No, not I," said he: "but seeing you are a stranger, if you need my services I will accompany you, *mis cortos servicios estan à la disposicion de Vd.!*"—"*Mil gracias, paisano,*" said I, "I shall give you no farther trouble, for I shall go and present myself to Don Manuel, and acquaint him with my situation." Wishing the stranger good morning, I rode through the gateway into a spacious court, where the clattering of my horses' feet soon attracted several persons to a balcony, of which the

old-fashioned balustrades of rudely carved wood extended round the house on the first floor.

I inquired, civilly taking off my hat, if Don Manuel Valdivien was at home? "*Si, Señor!*" replied several voices at the same time. I then dismounted at the foot of a large stone staircase, intending to ascend it to the balcony, when I heard a female voice loudly exclaim—"Don Manuel is sleeping the siesta, and nobody shall see him now!"—"No, Señora," replied one of the domestics, respectfully, "he is smoking a cigar, for I have just taken him the *braserito.*"*—"That is nothing to the purpose, *Indian!*† he is still in bed, and nobody shall disturb him," said the first female, in a tone so stoutly authoritative, as made it easy to guess this to be the lady "*algo viva*" and *Doña de la casa.*

I agree with the "Childe" in thinking that—

"Brisk confidence still best with woman copes:"

I therefore ascended the staircase to the balcony, and with somewhat of a dignified con-

* A small silver pan for holding fire for lighting cigars.

† *India! Indio!* pronounced with emphasis and in anger, when addressing an Indian, is intended as an epithet of reproach to that race, and means quite as much as *fool, blockhead, scoundrel, villain,* &c. among polished nations.

fidence, approached the lady, whom I accosted with more of the French manner than the English, because the former is more seducing, and, out of England, is every where preferred to the cold formality of the latter. My bows, however, which I made with theatrical precision from one end of the balcony to the other, and, as I thought, with infinite grace, were all to no purpose; they did not obtain in return a single curtsey or obeisance of any kind.

I certainly should not state the whole truth, if I did not confess that I felt "*dashed*," and to the bystanders I know I must have appeared *conspicuous*. The lady, a tall fine figure, stood for some time like a pillar of salt to my politely-studied address; but at length, when to those hems and haws, and a's and o's, (which are usually stammered out in sudden disappointment and confusion,) she haughtily asked —"*Que quiere Vd.?*" "What do you want?" I really did not know what to answer. I could not well say, "I 'll trouble you for a night's lodging, and something to eat for the honour o'God!" But, summoning back the 'brisk confidence' that had nearly deserted me, I replied, that "I wished to see Señor Don Manuel Valdivien." To this the lady retorted in a sharp tone—"You can't see him," and half

turned the back part of her person towards me, in a manner which, at the Courts of Royalty, would be called *rumping;* but whatever may be the effect of Royal rumping, that in the present case was not extremely disconcerting; besides, to retreat was impossible.

> "Pique her and soothe in turn,"

says the "Childe," soon will your hopes be crowned. I therefore re-commenced those—

> ——————————— "longees
> Of humble and submissive congees,
> And, all due ceremonies paid,
> I hemm'd again, and thus I said:"

"The extreme kindness I have always experienced, *Señora mia*, from your *amables paisanas*, prevents me from supposing, even for an instant, that the beams from those eyes can be converted into fiery darts at the tongue, to strike with harshness upon an unknown and unoffending stranger!" The lady looked full at me for a moment, then averting her head, looked downwards, enabling me thereby to twist myself into one of those wooing attitudes, which we so often see in a pantomime, when Colin peeps over the shoulder into the face of his half-unwilling Chloe. Having fixed my eyes upon the quick, round, and full black orbs of the lady, I followed their wandering

movements, whilst I said, in somewhat of a whining tone, accompanied with an affected smile, "*Perdona, Señora*, if I mistake not, I have the honour of speaking to *la amable patrona*," (the amiable mistress of the house), "and that being the case, I have no need of seeing Don Manuel, for my business, although of infinite importance to myself, depends altogether on the kind disposition and good-will of the lady I have the honour of addressing, and the still greater honour of *poniendome a sus pies*"—a usual Spanish compliment to ladies, meaning literally—

> "Madam, I do, as is my duty,
> Honour the shadow of your shoe-tie."

Having said and acted all this with a becoming and effective graceful grimace, the patrona at last blushed a little and smiled a little, then turned her head towards me, whilst she repaid my compliments with compliments from herself, and in a tone of evident good-humour, asked; "Pray, *Caballero*, what business can you have with me?"—"Well, *Señora*, it is in truth no business upon *business*, but still must be settled, and with your approbation too; it is also of a nature in which I should feel proud of an opportunity, in *my* country, to offer you,

Señora, the services of your most obedient humble servant."—An exceedingly well-judged bow accompanied the *finale* of this speech.—"*Cavallero!* I beg you may command me, *estoi enteramente à la disposicion de usted*"—Then really I must *dispose of you* to my personal advantage, said I to myself; for it is getting late, and if I am obliged to turn out, I may not find another opportunity for *booing* myself into a lodging for the night. I had commenced to the *patrona* the story of my necessity, or rather of my discomfort, for I was not by any means in a state of need, when a gentlemanlike man, with mild and prepossessing countenance, to which a paleness from ill health gave an additional cast of interest, accosted me in terms, that at once proved him to be Don Manuel Valdivien.

Every body must have experienced that a kind and affable reception removes the formality and embarrassment which usually attend a first introduction, particularly when the object of that introduction is to solicit a personal favour. I had no difficulty in explaining my situation to Don Manuel: the moment I mentioned that I was an Englishman, he made me welcome in the most cordial manner, ordered his servants to take my horses and mules to the *coral*, and

conducted me himself to a comfortable apartment, where, to my agreeable surprise, I found not only tables, chairs, and sundry conveniences, but actually a four-post bed, which was immediately prepared for me, by letting down its rich scarlet damask curtains, and spreading fine holland sheets edged with broad lace, as were also the pillow-cases, which were beautifully worked. Apologies were then made for the lateness of the hour, which rendered it difficult to procure all the cook *wished* to give me for dinner, but what was in the house, an excellent kind of perch, and a beef-steak, *à la Americaine*, were served up (on *plate*, of course), accompanied with a bottle of very good light wine, manufactured from Don Manuel's vineyards at his country place a few leagues from the city.

In the course of conversation, I mentioned that in England foreigners would find it quite impossible, even with letters of recommendation, to obtain entry into houses of respectability with that degree of freedom and welcome which is usual in South America. To this Don Manuel was frank enough to observe, that in England there was not the same necessity for strangers to rely upon the hospitality of others, because he understood that accommodations

suitable to the circumstances of all persons were everywhere easily to be obtained; whilst in this country, independent of the want of public accommodation, the nature of the houses, and the manners and customs of the people, prevent the occasional reception of a guest from being attended with any particular trouble, inconvenience, or expense.

Don Manuel had had some large transactions with British merchants, which, and personal acquaintance with a few individuals of that nation, (naming General Miller, Colonel O'Conor, and Doctor Nicol,) had, he said, very much prepossessed him in their favour, and his house should at all times be *à la disposicion de los Señores Ingleses.*

The brother of Don Manuel, accompanied by his very handsome, but very taciturn wife, paid me a complimentary visit in the course of the evening. He is a gentlemanly young man, and appeared to me as kind and affable as his elder brother. Both of them seemed to have profited by a very select library of French and Spanish authors, with which the house of Don Manuel was provided, and which was to me (since my arrival in South America) a subject of as rare and agreeable surprise as the four-post bed.

It was quite delightful to stroll, at an early hour, through the files of peasantry in the fruit and vegetable market of La Paz, where they displayed their baskets filled with the luxuriant produce of their gardens. I purchased pine-apples, strawberries, bananas, platanas, oranges, tunas, and I know not what besides, all for about eighteen-pence. They were certainly very good, but the strawberries much inferior in flavour to those of the gardens of Europe.

The peasant girls, both Cholas and Indians, of this district, appeared to me of a prettier cast of countenance, and they were likewise better dressed, than those of Potosi; their hats are very becoming, and although not what is called a Polish hat, have some resemblance to it. I have seen eyes of brilliant black, "as if in mourning for the murders they had committed," (as a Spanish poet has fancifully said of those of his mistress,) peep with a bewitching effect from under the broad brim, that extends, not from the bottom part, but rather from the *crown* of the hat, and round which a little curtain, made of lace, or fancy-coloured silk, or velvet, is drawn up in festoons.

In the seventeeth century, about one league from this city, a large mass of solid gold was

found by an Indian, and purchased, for 11,269 dollars, by the Spanish viceroy, who sent it to the cabinet of natural history at Madrid, where I believe it is still to be seen. It was supposed to have been detached by lightning from the huge Ylimani, in which many veins of gold are known to exist. Large quantities of native gold have also been found from time to time at the base of the Ylimani, in a lake situated at the enormous elevation of 15,780 feet above the level of the sea. This lake of Ylimani is likewise celebrated for having been made the depository of a great part of the treasures of the once-famed city of Cusco; it being handed down by tradition, that, at the period of the Spanish conquest, the Indians carried them thither, and sunk them in the lake to secure them from the rapacity of their invaders. In confirmation of this tradition, several articles of gold have been found at different times; and the belief of the fact has given rise to a Company for draining the lake, which, it appears, may be accomplished to a certain extent, at a moderate expense.

A gentleman of Tucuman, Señor Gramacho, whom I had met during my stay in that town, but who was now established here in extensive commercial business, chiefly in Peruvian bark,

invited me to a large dinner-party, where I met General Fernandez, the prefect of La Paz, and several other gentlemen of respectability and distinction. We sat down, sixteen persons, to a most excellent dinner, and passed three hours in as cheerful conviviality as I ever recollect to have enjoyed at the social board. Among the numerous dishes that burthened the table, the most remarkable was an enormous mass of *carne con cuéro*, (meat in the hide.) It had the appearance of a singed calf served up whole, and therefore, by a person unacquainted with its merits, it could not be supposed to present a pleasing or prepossessing mien. But the moment the monstrous dish was laid upon the table by the united exertions of two attendants, I observed the eyes of each guest expand with delight, and every countenance shine with a smile of welcome, as at the introduction of some well-known agreeable friend, from whose mirth-inspiring talents all were prepared to receive entertainment. I felt deeply the pungency of remorse at my own insensibility, but resolved that no hasty opinion, founded on external appearance, should prejudice me against that which seemed to command universal esteem; neither should it induce me to remain any longer in ignorance of worth, that possibly needed only to be known to be coveted and enjoyed.

General Fernandez, by the courteous laws of precedence, was the first to put to the test the skill of the carver, whose dexterity proved him to be no novice in the subject before him. It was gratifying to see the position taken up by the general, and the laudable impatience with which he waited to attack: boldly sitting upon his chair, showing an imposing front, with each wing, that is, each hand, firmly posted on the table, the knife grasped in one, the fork in the other, erect as halberts,—with a well-chosen distance between, designed to receive that upon which he was prepared to charge with the avidity of a Mohawk. He had not long to endure this painful state of suspense: ample employment, to his very heart's content was given to him with all possible speed. "*Que bocado tan rico!—delicioso!—riquisimo!*" was pronounced with the forcible emphasis of a full mouth at every mouthful.

The honour of precedence was next conceded to me, when I soon ascertained beyond all manner of doubt the truth of Lord Chesterfield's simile, that, "the proof of the pudding is the eating of it," and also proved that the general was a man of honour, above flattery, and had spoken nothing but the truth in his laudatory ejaculations—"What a savoury bit!

—delicious!—superlatively rich!"—which "nobody can deny" who has the good fortune to taste *carne con cuéro.*

This favourite luxury, peculiar, I believe, to South America, is thus described in Miller's Memoirs. "The moment a bullock is killed, the flesh on each side of the spine, beginning at the rump, is cut out with enough of the hide to meet or lap over, so as to prevent the juices from escaping; it is then covered with embers, and roasted like a potato." It is a dish deserving a first rank in the eminently distinguished pages of the *Almanach des Gourmands*

Of the handsome ladies of La Paz, I am bound to mention *La Señora Generala*, the prefect's blooming young wife, with whose worthy and respectable family I was acquainted at Potosi. She did me the favour to present me from her collection of beautiful birds with one highly famed for its wonderful singing, and, when domesticated, for its familiar and diverting qualities. It is here called *tordo*, about the size of our blackbird, but of more graceful form, and entirely of the most lustrous jet black. These birds are seldom confined in cages, but suffered to run about the rooms and passages as they please, which they do

without fear of cat or dog; and although they run under foot, they are too sagacious and too much on the alert to be trampled upon. They sometimes approach to court your attention, and when noticed commence their song, producing the clearest and most melodious notes that can well be imagined to proceed from the throat of a bird; and what adds to the interest of their song, is the peculiar manner in which they extend their wings and continue fluttering them, as in ecstasy at their own performance, their eyes at the same time glistening and dilated with the fire and force of exertion. Sometimes they are taught to perform sundry tricks, such as to "fetch and carry," which they do with a grain of maize, or a small coin, following and continuing their search till they find it. Sometimes they feign being dead, stretching themselves on a table with their wings expanded and eyes closed, suffering themselves to be taken up by one leg and suspended in the air as if lifeless, until some person calls out "*Aqui viene el gato!*" "Here comes the cat!" when instantly they spring up and commence singing, which they will do at any hour even of the night.

The *tordo* is common in Chile, but it is, I imagine, of a different species from these, which are brought from Santa Cruz de la

A Peruvian Indian, bargaining with a cloth merchant of Cochabamba —

Sierra, and which, from the difficulty of conveying in safety over the cold regions of the Cordillera, sell readily at La Paz for twenty and thirty dollars each. I hired an Indian for the express purpose of carrying mine in all the luxury I could devise for its comfort, and he succeeded in delivering it safe at Potosi, but the coldness of the climate there deprived me in a few weeks of my little companion.

The city of La Paz is the great emporium of Peru; all merchandise from the coast of the Pacific is conveyed hither, then carried off by merchants, great and small, to the towns and villages of the interior; and, I must confess, that since I strolled down Cheapside a twelvemonth ago, I have not seen such crowded streets, or so much bustle in the transactions of business. The annexed plate represents an Indian of the district of Potosi in his gala-dress, bargaining with a Cholo of Cochabamba. The sketch was taken from life by a native in La Paz. English goods are abundant, and are preferred to either French or German manufactures, which seem, however, to have a very fair share of the market. Every sort of flimsy, tinsel, gewgaw, and cargoes of divers kinds of worthless articles, unsale-

able at home, were at first imported by European merchants, in the hope of finding a ready sale here. Whether they did or not is best known to themselves, but now all such articles are duly despised.

I have heard many lamentable complaints in England, and our public papers have been filled with invective, against the South Americans for entrapping John Bull and obtaining millions of his money under false pretences. But, if the voice of these people could be as easily heard, and their two or three newspapers obtain as extensive circulation as the ten thousand and one of those who accuse and asperse them, I am disposed to believe, that if they could not altogether disprove of the alleged charges, they would at least, by any honest jury, be strongly recommended to mercy, on the ground of their being "more sinned against than sinning."

With respect to the *millions* of money said to have been obtained in loans from England, I am aware that those who have been disappointed in the payment of the interest upon the money they subscribed to those loans, can receive but little consolation from being reminded, that only a very small portion of their cash was sent to South America; that the greater part of

it may be traced into the coffers of English contractors and English manufacturers of some sort or other. Naval and military clothing and equipments, arms, ammunition, and sundry other supplies, at most exorbitant prices, swelled the accounts against several of the South American States, and quickly consumed the greater part of the amount of the loans. I have seen a sample of many thousand fire-arms so furnished, which I am sure any gun-manufacturer would gladly supply at one guinea each; but, be that as it may, at one shilling they would be a *dangerously* dear article, although twelve to fifteen dollars was the charge for them here.

The Morning Herald, eminently distinguished for its impartiality on these subjects, had the following observations on the Mexican loans, which, with the alteration of a few words, we may be permitted to apply to those of *all* the States of South America, excepting, perhaps, that of Buenos Ayres. "The English loans have been a source of infinite mischief; through them the South Americans have been losing their character abroad, and if they can manage to pay the interest, will be sadly pinched at home. There is little extenuation of the folly of the persons who rushed into these adven-

tures: they are but the counterpart of the mining schemes, but very much blame attaches to those who sweetened the cup's edge before they gave it to the public to drink. The imprudent dispersion of such large sums of money, and its uselessness to the only purposes that could justify the transaction, have produced a disgust in the minds of intelligent men. They think it hard that the country should be taxed to pay the interest of that capital it never received; or, received so *small a part of it*, as to make it quite fair that they should seek a compromise of the debt."

Now, I think it might be distinctly shown, that John Bull, by an extraordinary lapse from that dignity and prudence which has so long distinguished his commercial character among all the nations of the world, did himself, in the first instance, by an unusual and unbecoming precipitancy, encourage those loans, for they were among the greedy and usurious speculations of the day; and that by similar conduct in the second instance, he has occasioned (in a remote degree at least) the suspension of the payment of the dividends.

At the period when those loans were contracted for, Associations, under the auspices of individuals enjoying the entire confidence of the

public, were formed, and others were every day coming forward, with capitals of MILLIONS sterling, for the purpose of mining and divers other speculations, in South America, promising advantages of really national importance to the new States. These Associations, supposed to have been founded upon the usual solidity of British enterprise, and expected to be conducted by British genius and skill, were considered by the South Americans as levers of industry and prosperity, which they themselves had not the power of moving, but which they too sanguinely imagined they should soon see efficaciously applied, and they were induced to speculate upon the probable results.

What these results have been all the world knows; but no one can pretend to say that the Americans had any control over the silly and disastrous proceedings which occasioned them. As in the parallel case of the farmer who can-pay his rent if his crops fail; so the Americans, from many unforeseen causes, within and without, have been deprived of the resources on which they calculated for paying the interest of their debts. Is it fair to assert, that either in their case, or in that of the farmer, there was any intention or design of defrauding the creditors?

It was calculated on grounds which previous experience justified, that the duties at reasonable rates upon the produce of the mines of Peru, as *proposed* to be worked by British capitalists, would have not only paid the interest of the debt of that State, but speedily the principal. The Associations, however, that were formed for the purpose of working those mines, and set out in all the pride, pomp and splendour of munificent prodigality, suddenly disappeared without any thing farther being heard of them; they tumbled from their giddy height, and sank into a proportionate degree of degradation, leaving directors and shareholders involved in law, oppressed by debt, beset with duns, and this in some cases without having even attempted the object for which those Associations were specifically formed. Enormous sums were expended, which went, not into the pockets of South Americans, as some erroneously imagine, but sometimes into those of the concocters of the schemes, sometimes into those of contractors for mines, and contractors for cargoes of implements and goods—true Britons all. Neither can the expenditure attending useless establishments, exorbitant salaries, extravagant preparations, and wild-goose expeditions, be said to have in any way benefited

the South Americans. It would scarcely be fair to debit them with the few thousand pounds that have been expended in their country in the travelling expenses of chief commissioners, even although it may appear that each had unlimited means, and travelled according to his own idea of luxury and enjoyment. One, for instance, accompanied by his secretary of legation, with a suite of other dignitaries, posted in a coach and four, escorted by outriders, and followed by baggage-waggons, laden with portable kitchens, portable beds, portable soups, chronometers, hydrometers, barometers, theodolites, and peppermint-drops.* Another, with less *éclat* but more amusement, leisurely pursued his way through *tertulias*, balls, pic-nic parties, dinner-parties, and debating societies, charmed with the speeches of orators who in eloquence rivalled Charles Fox.†

A third, of a very different temperament from either of the foregoing, preferred *rough* riding, and trained himself into such galloping condition upon beef and water, that nothing

* See the starting of the Potosi, La Paz, and Peruvian Mining Expedition from Buenos Ayres, vol. i.

† See Andrews' South America, vol. i. pp. 89, 149, 160, 231.

could kill him,—tired ten and twelve horses a-day,*—received "constant falls," and tumbled harmless, not indeed into gold and silver mines, but into "biscacha holes" when in full gallop, daylight and dark, "riding against time," across the noble plains of the Pampas.† So inveterate did this mania of galloping become, that we are induced to believe it excited sensations similar to those experienced in cases of hydrophobia, for in "several" attempts to cool the system by plunging into rivers, and "swimming about on horseback," the water has been abandoned for the "inexpressible" delight of galloping without inexpressibles on a horse without a saddle, stark naked along the banks of a river under a burning hot sun.‡

But what! though one chief commissioner lolled in his carriage in mimic state, and knew nothing of the use of his cargo of philosophical instruments;—that a second, loitered from town to town, and altogether ignorant of the 'poetry of motion,' should have blushed at his own ungracefulness in a fandango with the blithe *muchachas* of Tucuman;§—that a

* Head's Rough Notes, p. 50. † Idem, p. 53, 82, 83.
‡ Idem, p. 234, 236. § Andrews' Journey, p. 237.

third, priding himself on riding "upwards of six thousand miles against time,"* should have galloped and continued galloping, — galloped and galloping, gallop, galloped, and galloping, galloping, galloping, galloping, day and night, like a very fury on horseback:—† forgive them their innocent mirth, for it was not these doings, nor the expenses attending them, that occasioned the public disappointment, the heavy losses, and the general failure

* Rough Notes, p. ix. of the Introduction.

† It has been calculated, "excellent critic!" that the words gallop, galloped, galloping, may be seen three and four times in a single page, ten times in the space of three successive pages, twenty-four times in the space of eight pages, and an unknown number of times throughout the work. See Rough Notes, p. 46, 47, 48, 50, 82, 238, &c. Happy shall I be if *all the world* gallop to my booksellers and gallop off with these volumes with the same speed, and with one-half the pleasure, with which they galloped off with the "Rough Notes of Rapid Journeys across the Pampas," a work which, like its author, flew like wild-fire, and electrifying the whole world, led, it is supposed, to the introduction into society of the *galoppe*, *galopade*, *galopading*, *gallopper*, *galopader*; but whether or not all that rough gallopingh as terminated in a very simple jog-trot, (as those at least who have had a little experience in the matter may opine) it is not perhaps for an ambling *journalist* to pronounce.

which so soon followed. The worst consequences of the worst management of the worst chief commissioner who strutted his little hour in South America might have been easily retrieved, had the Directors discreetly and diligently performed the duties which they voluntarily undertook, and had they, in so doing, received the requisite support of the shareholders, instead of being suddenly abandoned by them, as in many instances they were.

No important obstacle occurred on the part of the natives of South America, nor to this hour has any objection been *proved* to exist against the feasibility of mining to advantage in that country. The South American mining speculations failed through mismanagement; but, in assigning this as the principal cause, we must not forget the extraordinary infatuation of the times, the outrageous feeling of cupidity which pervaded all ranks, such as probably never before to the same degree disgraced the generous character of British enterprise. In the various transactions of business, sobriety itself "ceased to be sober," and revelled without heed in the extravagant delusions of the day. Judgment, prudence, caution, method, were all abandoned in the delirium caused by the hope

of immediate gain. It seemed as if that accursed fiend Avarice had been suddenly let loose, and spread her pestilential influence over all classes of society, inducing a general connivance at even the most disreputable acts of chicane. The ordinary obligations between man and man were hourly infringed with utter indifference; and reputations, till then unimpeached, were thoughtlessly sacrificed to the insatiable thirst of gain. But to return to those acts more immediately connected with mining associations, to which the public frenzy was principally directed. Many purchased shares at exorbitant premiums, with the expectation of returns still more exorbitant, even before it was possible to apply the means by which alone those returns could be made; then, when their greedy hopes met with a delay that in their excitement was never contemplated, the shares were re-sold at a ruinous discount, and the schemes abandoned on the groundless pretext of their unworthiness. Others, hoping suddenly to enrich themselves at the expense of their neighbours within the convenient precincts of the Stock Exchange, thought little of speculations beyond the Atlantic, the results of which were too tardy for their ungovernable impatience. These indiscretions and misdemean-

ours, coupled with general mismanagement, caused a reaction in the public mind, terminating in despair and disgust; the sudden effects of which, no less disastrous in the New World than in the Old, led to a general subversion of all schemes, plans, and projects, whether ill or well devised. Then followed defalcations in the payment of instalments; forfeiture of shares; protesting of bills; cancelling of contracts, and abandonment of enterprises, even upon the spot, (as Miller justly observes on the subject of Mines in Peru) "where nature had provided the means of ample remuneration, had prudence been consulted, foresight employed, and economy adhered to."

On the subject of *failure*, we should also bear in mind that, at the period to which I have alluded, there was a convulsion in the money market of England, and a panic throughout the commercial world, unparalleled in its effects, and calculated at the time to overthrow the most promising designs.

Admitting, however, every objection to the continuation of South American mining pursuits at the before-mentioned period, there is not one of them that proves, as some have asserted, that the speculation is *impracticable;* nor do they refute the arguments of those, who, having had

a fair opportunity of judging, insist that, under proper management, success would have been certain.*

Captain Andrews, after "a rigid and impartial investigation" of the subject, in which he is borne out by the authority of Baron Humboldt and others, declares, that "there is no deficiency of mining produce in South America, for it notoriously abounds:" he affirms with equal truth, that "the efforts lately made failed entirely through mismanagement in carrying the object itself into effect;" and that the greater part of the heavy losses sustained by subscribers to those companies, has arisen from their trafficking in shares, and "other calculations of over-excited cupidity."

I recollect having somewhere seen the following observations on Mining Companies, which were evidently intended to reproach South America with having drawn sums of money out of England. They related to the Brazilian and other *gold* mining Companies, and concluded thus:—"All other mining Companies, we believe, are for *silver*, every one of which has taken silver, or its equivalent, *out* of

* This seems to obtain substantial corroboration from the recent revival of one or two of the Mexican Mining Associations, after all the disasters attending their lavish expenditure.

England; but not one of them has brought any *in*." Now, if they have not brought any in, it certainly has not been from any lack of *silver mines*. But what is meant here by "the equivalent of silver" which they have taken *out* of the country? — Why, steam-engines, machinery, implements, and goods of all sorts, to be sure; what else can be meant? Again, is it not insinuated, that all these have been *lost*, and that England has been the sufferer? To me, this appears to be the fair construction of the argument; but nothing can be more unfair than the deduction from it; because, had those goods been all collected in Smithfield, and there set on fire and consumed, the act would have been no more injurious to England, than the burning of British goods on the Continent some years ago by order of Bonaparte. The latter act may possibly have occasioned bankruptcies abroad, which, in their turn, may possibly have prevented payment for those goods to the English merchants. But in the former, the merchants, seeing the cash flying in all directions from the "Committees of Management" (as they were rather inaptly termed,) of the various Associations of the day, took special care to apply in time for the settlement of their "little bills." The case,

so far as respects loss, may be compared with one that occurred during the last rebellion in Ireland, when the insurgents, having sworn eternal enmity to the Beresfords, resolved upon ruining the Bank of that firm, and to this end, burned their notes wherever they could find them. In both cases, I take it, the merchants and the Beresfords would be happy again and again to submit to such injurious treatment as they have thus been supposed to have suffered. The losses that have fallen on individuals, who subscribed to pay for those before-mentioned goods, may, in some instances, have been ruinous; but generally they have been trifling, when divided among the numerous body of shareholders. Yet even of that *trifle* they have not been deprived by the South Americans; for those Companies who thought fit to sell their goods, (choosing rather to deal in their shares on the Stock Exchange, than to carry into effect the object for which those shares were ostensibly issued,) received the market price for such as were saleable. I, therefore, protest that I cannot see how those Companies, which have "taken the equivalent of silver out of England," have in any degree contributed to the loss or injury of the country.

Captain Head mentions that more than two

millions of money *from* this country have already been expended on the mines of America."* I am quite satisfied that Captain Head had neither intention nor design even of *roughly noting* what, at the time, he did not conscientiously believe to be the fact. We do not of course object to those little licenses which seem to be good-humouredly conceded to all travellers, and of which, whether in agreeable conversation or in agreeable writing, all persons—travellers or not—take innocent advantage for the embellishment of their stories. But this license is not admitted, nor is it ever taken by Captain Head or any other honest man, in graver matters; therefore, when it was asserted, that more than two millions from this country had already been expended on the mines of America, it was because it was believed to be the *fact*, and in so believing, Captain Head was not singular; for I have heard many express an equally mistaken opinion on the subject; but I have no doubt that, at this time, there would be no hesitation in admitting that the *rough note* of "two millions" may very safely be reduced *one half*. Those who have taken a little pains *in* South America, to investigate mining concerns, will

* Head's Reports, p. vi. Introduction.

find no difficulty in proving, that not *one quarter* of that sum has been "expended on the mines." It is impossible to deny that immense sums have been lavished by mining Associations, perhaps to the full amount of what Captain Head states; but by far the greater part has been sunk, not in America, where he says "our money lies *buried*," but in the vortex of mismanagement at *home*, where those sums have passed into the pockets of English agents, contractors, manufacturers, solicitors, chief commissioners, chief engineers, secretaries, clerks, artisans, and Cornish captains, not into the pockets of Americans, neither have they been expended on their mines.

As the companies of 1825 seemed all to vie with each other in expense, one or two items will suffice to show, not only how their capitals were lavished, but also that the money was *not* "buried in America."

An Englishman obtained on his own account certain mines in a district, in the immediate neighbourhood of other mines which had been previously purchased by a company in London; aware of the mining mania at home, he returned thither, and disposed of his interest in them to a mercantile house for the sum of £50,000. This interest was afterwards re-

sold (with a liberal commission no doubt,) to the Company previously established; who, out of their large capital, thought little in those speculating days of such a sum for two or three additional mines, even though already in possession of more than they could work.

I have heard from good authority, that in one Company a solicitor's bill amounted to nearly £10,000, of which the Government had a fair share of profit, for one item was £1000 for stamps. It must be observed, that this Company had been involved in three lawsuits.

The expenses of the Potosi Association, as improvident as those of any Company that was formed, though probably a less amount per share has been paid than in any other, may be calculated, first and last, at £70,000, of which I can testify that not one twelfth part has been expended on mines or mining. A great portion of the cargo already spoken of was furnished by a London house, and our chief Commissioner has affirmed, that on a comparison of invoices, it appeared to have been charged from twenty to thirty per cent. too high. Certainly, the Americans had no benefit in these and similar transactions; nor can it be pretended that those sums were expended on the mines, or "buried in America."

When I arrived at La Paz, Baron Czettritz had left it to visit the mines to which allusion has been already made, and did not return until the 3rd of October, when, in half an hour's interview, as I had anticipated, he saw the propriety of abandoning the projects he had in view, and of adopting my advice to return to Potosi; but as he required a day or two to prepare for the journey, I set out without him.

On taking leave of my kind and worthy host Don Manuel, whose house was my home, and at whose well-spread table I dined when I pleased, many apologies were made for what he called "the inattention of his lady to the comfort of her guests, which, from what he had read, and the information he had obtained upon the good-breeding and education of English ladies, must appear strange and uncourteous to an English gentleman." This remark of Don Manuel's proceeded from extreme good-nature, added to a knowledge, no doubt, of the *algo viva* disposition of his spouse. But, although it is certain that the lady never troubled her head about me in any way, it really did not attract my observation: my most particular wish in any house being to be "let alone" and suffered to dispose of my hours as I may think most congenial to my taste, I seldom seek to be en-

tertained by the host or hostess, but estimate their hospitality in proportion to the liberty I am permitted to enjoy. Under this impression, I am myself unwilling to impose restraint by forcibly inflicting my company upon others, merely for the sake of shamming the agreeable; which I hold to be the most *dis*agreeable favour that can be either given or received, and never fails to bring on a fit of successive yawns, that no forced smile can suppress, no hand, no handkerchief conceal, and against which the only remedy is—to pack up and be off.

With respect to *la Señora patrona*, I never saw her except at dinner, when she sat at the head of her table, and I beside her, in the place assigned me on her left; Don Manuel sitting on the lady's right, and some friend who chose to walk in at dinner-time filled the vice-president's chair; it being what is called an open table, silver covers were laid every day for fourteen or twenty persons, though the family consisted of only five or six. Soup, as with the French, is a never failing preliminary at a respectable American's table; to this the lady helped all her guests, then pulling the capacious soup-dish (for tureens are not in use) close to her, she helped herself as out of her own plate. When I first noticed this striking

occurrence, I imagined that it proceeded from a lack of plates, but, on casting a glance round, the piles of silver that stood upon the side-table proved that it was merely a matter of convenience to the lady herself, and did not in the least deter the guests from sending a second time for pottage, or her from helping it.

There is seldom much time for conversation at one of these dinners, which, from the sitting down to table until rising from it, scarcely occupies an hour. Each gentleman, as he dines, calls for '*fuego!*' when an attendant immediately presents him with the *braserito*, or, if that happens to be engaged, with a spoon containing a bit of ignited charcoal, at which he lights his cigar; then by degrees the whole party vanish in a cloud of smoke, and for the next hour may be found indulging in the *siesta*.

Strolling one day through the streets of La Paz, I happened to take shelter from a shower of rain in a shop where, upon the counter, among a quantity of waste paper ready to be converted into wrappers of sundry articles in the retail business, I noticed two or three sheets, written in a fair hand, in the Spanish language, and taking up one of them, it proved to be part of a journal of the siege of La Paz in the year

1780, during an insurrection of the Peruvian Indians, under their celebrated chief Tupac Amaro. This journal had been kept by the then military governor of the city, and it contains, in addition to a diary, several original letters and other documents relating to that rebellion, the particulars of which the Spanish Government took infinite pains to conceal from the world, so that to this day very few details, I have been given to understand, have been published. Thinking, therefore, that the original manuscript-diary, containing official accounts of the most prominent events of that notable and important commotion, from the pen of a chief authority on the side of the Spaniards, could not be altogether undeserving of rescue from the fate to which it had been doomed, I obtained it at a price proportioned to the contempt in which it was held by the owner, and having reason to hope that a selection of extracts from the Governor's journal will not be considered misplaced by being translated into mine, I submit them to the reader in the two succeeding chapters.

CHAPTER IV.

Preliminary Observations.—Insurrection of Tupac Amaro.—Extracts from a Journal kept by Don Sebastian de Segurola, Military Commandant of La Paz, during two sieges of that city by the Peruvian Indians, in the years 1781 and 1782.

THE principal cause of the revolt of the Peruvian Indians in the year 1780, was the oppressive operation of a law authorizing the Spanish Corregidors* to distribute among the Indians foreign goods at fixed prices, and which they were obliged to pay for whether they wanted them or not. This was called the *repartimiento*, a privilege originally granted with a view to the accommodation of the natives, who, it was intended, should be supplied through the corregidors with whatever European goods they required,

* Corregidor was a Spanish municipal officer, possessing great power in the district which he governed, and being receiver of taxes, tributes, and customs, he frequently exercised his authority with unsparing rapacity.

at a fair price; but this, like many other excellent laws in the archives of Spain, was soon abused, and became one of the most grievous burdens to the Indians. Cargoes of goods, damaged or unsaleable at home, were sure of a market in South America, under the influence of the corregidors, who had sufficient power to force them at exorbitant prices upon the Indians of their districts, even though of no sort of use to the latter. Playing cards (for those who knew not their use or meaning), razors (for men who had no beards), spectacles (for those who had excellent eyes), silk stockings, velvets, and other luxuries, (for people who went bare-legged, nay, almost naked,) constituted part of the supplies for which the Indians were compelled to pay. In illustration of this system, Miller mentions the following occurrence. A European speculator sent, among other articles, a consignment of spectacles to a Lima merchant, who, finding them a drug upon his hands, applied to a corregidor to aid him in disposing of them. The latter issued an order, that no Indian in his district should attend divine service on festivals, unless ornamented with spectacles. The consequence was, a speedy sale of the whole.

It was this unheard-of species of oppression, together with the *mita*, that equally odious but

still more cruel grievance, which roused the Peruvian Indians to vengeance, and led to as sanguinary a contest of two years, as any, probably, that history records. An Indian, named Condorcanki, assumed the title of Inca Tupac Amaro,* and became the principal leader; his first step was to seize, in the name of the king, the corregidor of his province, whom he executed as a public robber, for having exacted on the goods he sold three times the amount allowed by law. This event took place in November 1780, and soon afterwards a bloody battle was fought near Cusco, in which the Spaniards were defeated, and the victorious leader, his brows bound with the Imperial fillet of the Incas, marched upon Cusco, to re-establish their empire in their ancient metropolis. He laid siege to the city, and some partial successes attended his career, the close of which we shall see hereafter.

This principal leader had two sons, Andres and Mariano, also a brother, named Diego, all of whom assumed the appellation of Tupac Amaro, and acted conspicuous parts in the rebellion. Other caciques took the name of Tupac Catari, and distinguished themselves as leaders.

* Tupac Amaro, in the Quichua language, means *the highly endowed*.—Miller's Memoirs.

This explanation is given to prevent the confusion that might otherwise arise in the following narrative, from the circumstance of several of these chiefs appearing on the scene at the same time with the same titles.

In translating the governor's journal, I have not considered it requisite to adhere to the form of the diary, by giving under each separate date the little occurrences of marches, counter-marches, sallies, hopes, doubts, and apprehensions of the besieged; but, retaining all the principal events, I have, in condensing them, adhered as closely as it wasin my power to the literal sense; in doing which I have had the valuable assistance of a Spanish gentleman in unravelling the meaning of the very quaint and, in many places, almost unintelligible language of the original.

" In the year 1780, the Indians of the province of Chayanta, headed by their cacique Tupac Catari, having openly resisted the authority of their corregidor, it was found requisite to employ military force to restore them to order and obedience; but these means having totally failed, an event speedily followed, of deeper interest and of greater importance to

the Spanish government than any that had occurred in America from the time of the conquest.

" Joseph Gabriel Tupac Amaro, an Indian cacique descended from the ancient race of Incas, incensed at the alleged exactions of the corregidor of Tungasuca, caused him to be seized and publicly executed. This was the signal for a general insurrection of the Indians of that province, whence it spread far and wide through the neighbouring provinces, in spite of every attempt to quell it.

" On the first day of the year 1781, I entered on my appointment to the office of Military Governor of the city of La Paz, which I immediately proceeded to put in a state of defence against the rebels. The situation of this city, one of the most extraordinary that can be imagined, offers no natural defence or means of protection : it is built in a narrow valley, and hemmed in by mountains, which, in their most accessible parts from the city, have full three miles of difficult ascent. Having, therefore, no alternative, I enclosed the principal part of the town with trenches, and cut off the suburbs, which were occupied chiefly by the Indian population. The harvest of the preceding year

having been so scanty, that in many parts not even the necessary quantity for seed was gathered, it was impossible to obtain the requisite supply of provisions; and, with respect to fire-arms, my predecessor having marched with a strong force against the insurgents of Chayanta, not above a hundred muskets remained in the town: some field-pieces, however, and a number of lances were manufactured, which enabled me to guard against any sudden attack.

"About this period a battle was fought between our troops and the rebels of Chayanta, the result of which was, the loss on our part of the Chief Justice, (*Justicia Mayor**) and, on that of the rebels, the capture and immediate execution of the chief Tupac Catari. This event, far from checking revolt, added the fury of revenge to feelings already highly excited. A brother of the deceased chief placed himself at the head of the Indians, and commenced his career in the province of Paria by putting to the sword every Spaniard he found, beginning with the corregidor; thence the rebellion spread with equal devastation to all the neighbouring provinces.

"Tupac Amaro, the principal leader in this

* Chief Justice!—Que diable alloit il faire dans cette galère?

rebellion, had advanced upon Cusco, but being repulsed with considerable loss, he retired to the province of Tinta, where he committed unspeakable cruelties; and proved that his intentions were not only to destroy the corregidors and European Spaniards, as he had at first declared, but likewise all those who were not of pure Indian blood.

"The irruptions of the Indians in the different provinces were now so powerfully overwhelming, that the governors and corregidors were everywhere compelled to act on the defensive. At this period an Indian of the lowest class, named Julian Apasa, a native of Ahio-ahio in this neighbourhood, having accidentally obtained possession of certain documents, being a correspondence between Tupac Amaro and the late Tupac Catari, the contents of which Apasa was put in possession of by a Cholo of La Paz, for he himself could neither read nor write, he pretended to be related to the late chief, and, assuming his name, raised the standard of rebellion, under the name and title of Tupac Catari, Viceroy Inca, and to him all the Indians of the district yielded immediate obedience. The object of this rebel being the subversion of the Spanish dominion, he vowed death to all Spaniards; accordingly, his first act

was to slaughter all the Spaniards and Mestizos of the province, in some places sparing not even the ecclesiastics! Wishing also to abjure the Catholic religion, he ordered his people neither to say their prayers, nor to take off their hats, nor pay any respect to the Host; and with a view to revive heathen superstitions, he forbade them to eat bread, or drink water out of fountains.

"Having received intelligence that the rebels had entered Biacha, a town six leagues from this city, I sent a detachment of 460 men against them, with orders to inflict exemplary punishment, in hopes of checking the insurrection. The party arrived there at break of day and took the Indians by surprise, killing about three hundred, sparing those only who had taken refuge in the church, and expressed a willingness to return to their allegiance to the king; but no sooner did our troops retire, than more rebels rejoined their comrades, and came in a formidable body to La Ventilla, four leagues distant from this place. The detachment to Biacha having returned after destroying that town, I now prepared to make an excursion, and forming a body of six hundred men, with four field-pieces, I set out on the 13th of March, having previously put to the test the fidelity of

the Indians of the suburbs and neighbourhood, by issuing an order for twelve hundred to accompany me. But, as we suspected, only three hundred of that number obeyed the summons.

"When I arrived at Ventilla, I found that the Indians, well-informed of my plan, had abandoned the town, and, in number about one hundred, had taken up a position on an eminence a quarter of a league distant, whither I proceeded, and attempted to ascend; but my force being small, and having only four with fire-arms, *(cuatro con armas de fuego,)* I was compelled to retreat from under the shower of stones which the enemy hurled upon us with their slings. The infantry and cavalry, whom I expected to reinforce me, the moment they entered the town gave loose to insubordination, and thought of nothing but plunder *(solo cuidó de saquear el pueblo.)* Being, however, joined by a small additional force, I again attacked the hill, and three times gained the summit, but was as often repulsed by the enemy, who fought with astonishing valour. At length, receiving a second reinforcement, and the Indians being weakened by the loss they had suffered, we for the fourth time gained their position, putting to death all who remained to defend it; but, to the very

last, the Indians fought with a courage that might serve as an example to the most heroic nations. Many, as they lay on the ground, covered with wounds, continued to assail us with stones and missiles, and made a desperate resistance until they expired.

"This affair concluded, *(concluida esta funcion,)* I proceeded to the town, which I destroyed, and there put to death sixty Indians, who were found in it.

" Having now learned that the rebels, under the pretender Tupac Catari, were assembling in considerable force round La Paz, I immediately marched for that place, pursued by a body of Indians; and at ten o'clock at night I reached the heights above the city, where a severe conflict commenced and lasted until daylight, when the enemy retired. In passing over the field, after so close and continued a firing as we had kept up during the whole of the night, I was astonished at seeing only twenty or thirty dead bodies of the enemy, but as we advanced, we found in the ravines and precipices about four hundred more; a circumstance which shows the diligence of the Indians in removing their killed from the field, which they do, not only to conceal their loss, but also to burn the bodies, according to their ancient rites and ceremonies.

"On the 15th we entered La Paz, and on the following day twenty-six Indians, whom we had taken prisoners, were formally executed.

"The enemy soon re-assembled round the city, and, though I attempted several times to dislodge them, I was always forced to retire with loss both of men and fire-arms.

"On the 26th we made a sally, with eleven hundred men and four field-pieces, and had ascended half-way up the hill called Pampaxasi, when we were attacked, and my troops, being thrown into disorder, fled in every direction, abandoning the four field-pieces and the greater part of their muskets, all of which fell into the hands of the enemy.

"A formal siege was now laid to the town, and the surrounding hills favouring the project of the enemy, we were completely shut in, and could neither send nor receive communication of any kind. In one of the sallies that we effected with some success, one of our artillerymen, named Mariano Murillo, fell into the hands of the rebels, who, knowing that he might be useful to them, spared his life, and compelled him to undertake the management of their guns.

"During the siege, we received sundry letters, summoning us to surrender, and promising par-

don if we delivered up the corregidors, priests, curates, custom-house officers, and Europeans, and demolished the fortifications ; but threatening us with destruction if we refused.

" The following was addressed by Tupac Amaro to the prior of the convent at the extremity of the town, where our troops occasionally assembled previous to a sally.

" Most reverend Father,

" I, Don Joseph Gabriel Tupac Amaro, Inca of royal blood, communicate to you and to your community, that, considering the severe yoke which weighs us down, the innumerable imposts levied upon us, and the tyranny of the collecting officers, who have no consideration for our misfortunes, and have driven us to exasperation by their merciless conduct,—I have resolved to shake off this insupportable bondage and to put a check to bad government. For this reason the Corregidor of Tinta publicly died on the scaffold, in spite of a body of *chapetones* (European Spaniards) who came from Cuzco to rescue him, but who paid with their lives for their audacity. I now tell you, that if you comply with my orders, you will not experience any injury either in your persons or your property; but if, despising this my warning, you should act in opposition to it, you will ensure your ruin, and turn my mildness into wrath and fury to the utter destruction of all rebels. I do not assert this without having troops and money at my disposal; I have twenty thousand soldiers under my command and expect as many more, all of whom are devoted to me; make not light, therefore, of this my warning, which is the

offspring of my love, clemency, and charity. The ecclesiastics will find in us the esteem and respect due to their dignity, which will be also extended to convents and monasteries; my only intention is to terminate the bad government of so many robbers, who plunder our hives of the honey. I shall speedily find out your intentions and know the party you side with, and shall appreciate the loyal and punish the disobedient. Take your choice; but do not afterwards plead ignorance.

"Dated from the Heights of La Batalla, March the 29th, 1781.

"DON JOSEPH GABRIEL TUPAC AMARO.

"I enjoin you to deliver up to me every *Mestizo*, or native, who shall take refuge in your convent. If you obey not my orders, you shall be destroyed root and branch; for the bad fruit should all be destroyed. My vassals have also intimated to me that you are armed as soldiers with offensive weapons, and allow the troops of the city to assemble in your convent for the convenience of attacking us; therefore, on the receipt of this, you must cease to harbour armed people, whether Mestizos or Indians."

"The following letters are from Tupac Catari; the first addressed to our Bishop, who issued a circular, calling upon the Indians to return to their allegiance, and to submit to the laws.

"Most illustrious Lord Don Gregorio Francisco de Campos;

"I return an expeditious answer to your Grace's letter, by which I learn the good health of your Grace, of which I am glad; mine (health) is at your command.

"I will now thank your Grace to let me know with certainty how your Grace has learned that a number of ships

are coming to Buenos Ayres with troops to destroy us, when your Grace knows that Charles the Third has resigned in favour of the King Inca, on account of the wrongs and robberies committed.

" Finally, God is above all; we all are of this opinion; 'render then to God what is God's, and to Cæsar what is Cæsar's.' But if from above it is decreed that all shall be destroyed, the will of God will be accomplished; because it is said, the bad fruit shall be rooted up, and we shall thus be all destroyed. So, God preserve your Grace many years! From the Heights of La Batalla, 3rd April, 1781.

" Your Grace's vassal kisses your Grace's hands.

" I, THE LORD VICEROY TUPAC CATARI.'

" The second, addressed to the inhabitants of the city generally, runs thus—

" Now, if you Christians desire evil, you shall see that tomorrow, with the help of God, I can attack you, and that there is no help for it: if you persist in your obstinacy, there is not three hours' work, with the help of God, for my soldiers. I shall make an end of you, there can be no doubt. Notwithstanding the arms you have, you must know that, with the help of God, I shall reduce you to clay and dust; and you shall see that God will aid us, and that we are right vigorous fellows (*hombres dec-j-n-s**), and that it is decreed from above. It is the will of me, Don Julian Puma Catari, that you, Creoles, should bring well secured to me those thieves, for which you shall all be pardoned; and you must deliver up the other European Spaniards (chapetones), which will ensure pardon to all; and you shall be loved and cherished in my heart

* An extraordinary expression, not to be met with in polite literature.—E. T.

and soul, and you shall remain, my sons, in security, without pain or care. Should you, Creoles, not unite and put to death all European Spaniards, my Indians shall enter for that purpose, to which they are bound by three oaths, and with the witness of the most Holy Host of the altar, and of his most holy and sovereign mother, our Lady of Mercy, (*Señora de las Mercedes.*) Take heed unto this my present warning; if you despise it, every thing shall be turned into ashes, and you shall not exist eight days. In the mean time, I hope for a speedy conclusion of this affair. This 7th day of April, 1781.

"I, THE LORD VICEROY."

"On the evening of the 30th of June, the Commandant of the province, General Don Ignacio Flores, arrived with a reinforcement, and, compelling the Indians to retreat, entered the city with his troops, to the unspeakable joy of its nearly exhausted inhabitants, after a siege of one hundred and nine days. During this long period we sustained continual attacks from upwards of forty thousand Indians, who used every effort and every stratagem to destroy us. Sometimes they attached burning rags to the heads of their arrows, and showered them into the town, having first thrown bags of gunpowder with their slings, also rockets, lighted matches, and hand-grenades, but without causing any very great injury. So sure were they of totally destroying us, that they had actually built on the height a church, a prison, and

some houses, intending to form there a new city. During this long siege, the inhabitants suffered the most dreadful distresses. We were obliged to feed upon horses, mules, dogs, and cats, and these were not very abundant; for I have known cats to be sold at six dollars each, and mules that died of hunger, (having existed for a considerable time on the straw of mats, and were literally but skin and bone,) at thirty dollars each. Out of two thousand mules that were in the city at the beginning of the siege only forty remained, the rest had been used as food; as also the skins of animals, and even bags of leather and *patacas* (trunks or portmanteaus) made of hide, were so employed. In consequence of the diseases produced by unwholesome food, which necessity compelled the use of, nearly a third of the population perished during the siege; the number killed by the enemy amounted to four hundred.

" The cruelties committed by the Indians towards the Spaniards who fell into their hands, whether dead or alive, cannot be related without horror. They were in the habit of chopping off their arms, legs, and heads, and cutting stripes out of their skin, then dancing round the mutilated bodies, with other barbarous acts.

" The following letter, containing a detailed

account of Tupac Catari and his associates, was addressed to me by a respectable ecclesiastic, after his escape from the rebels, with whom he had long been prisoner.

"To Señor Don Sebastian de Segurola, Governor and Military Commandant of the city of La Paz.

"Sir,

"In compliance with your request to be furnished by me with an account of the actions, habits, and conduct, of the rebel Indian, Julian Apasa, *alias* Thomas Tupac Catari, who has assumed the title of Inca, and opposed the Royal authority of our gracious King and natural Lord Don Carlos III. whom God preserve, I now proceed to acquaint your Excellency with what I have seen and what has come to my knowledge relative to that person.

"On the morning of the 19th of March of the present year, (1781,) an Indian named Thomas Calisaya, a native of Tiquina, a village belonging to the parish of Copacabana, of which I am vicar, unexpectedly arrived as a *canari*, or special messenger, with the strange title of *Rey-Fiscal*, (King-searcher, or examiner,) stating, that he came from Tupac Catari, the Inca, who already occupied the heights of the city of La

Paz with a vast multitude of people. This messenger had a rope round his neck, and in one hand a thread with a knot in it: he said that they might hang him with the former should he not speak the truth, and that the knot represented a sealed letter of orders, which he alone had authority to open. This being proclaimed aloud three times throughout the village as the mandate of Tupac Catari, Inca King, all the Indians of the district, who apparently had been convoked beforehand, speedily assembled, and entering the *cabildo*, (town-hall,) the messenger with much pomposity spoke as follows.

"The sovereign Inca King commands that all the corregidors, their assistants, collectors of taxes, and all other inferior officers, be put to the sword; as also the native Spaniards, creoles, women, and children, sparing neither sex nor age, and all persons who may be, or appear to be, Spaniards, or even dress in the Spanish fashion; and that if shelter be afforded to such persons in any church or convent, or if any priest or other individual shall hinder or oppose the intended annihilation of them, every consideration is then to be laid aside for the paramount object, even to the putting the priests to the sword, and burning the churches, within which the Indians are for-

bidden to attend mass or confession, and still less to pay adoration to the host. It is farther commanded, that the Indians are to abstain from eating bread, drinking from the fountains, and from every Spanish custom whatsoever."

" The Indians listened to this proclamation with great attention; but when the King-Fiscal untied the knot on the thread, all became tumult, uproar, and confusion, and, with yells, resembling the howling of wild beasts, they rushed to the church, where I was in the act of administering the sacrament to several Spaniards, male and female, who had there taken refuge, under the apprehension of being sacrificed; and when I perceived that the Indians who entered the church did not take off their caps, I considered it my duty to reprimand them for so great a want of reverence towards the holy sacrament; but they boldly answered, that they acted as they were commanded by their Inca King, whose orders they should obey. I endeavoured to assert, as far as lay in my power, the honour of God; first by mildly remonstrating, and then by representing to them the anger with which the Sovereign Judge would punish them for daring to profane his temples. Upon this they hesitated, but after consulting together for a few minutes, the up-

roar was renewed, and a general attempt made by those without to enter the church, for the purpose of putting to death about one hundred persons who had fled thither. This design was prevented by an Indian who had been appointed captain by the King-Fiscal, under the more cruel intention of shutting us up in the church, and then setting it on fire. Perceiving that our enemies were bent on our destruction, we had no other alternative but to take each of us a crucifix, or other sign of Christianity, in our hands, and to quit that sacred place, devoutly prepared for the martyrdom which awaited us. Scarcely had we arrived at the town-hall, when the Indians seized the Spaniards, the female Indians seizing the Spanish women, and no efforts or entreaties could save one of them, not even the young infants, from the dreadful massacre, which literally converted the place into a pool of blood. In the utmost distress, I afterwards entreated permission to bury the dead; but they said the Inca King expressly directed that, as all Spaniards were devils, they should be thrown into the fields; and accordingly their bodies were dragged thither to be devoured by dogs and birds of prey. After which, thirsting for more blood, these savages, like ravenous wolves, roved through all the

estancias (estates) of that district, determined to sacrifice in the same manner all the Spaniards they might find, agreeing to divide the spoil, according to their rank, or to the part which each could boast of having performed.

" I was naturally anxious to escape from these barbarians, as there was no possibility of bringing them back to quietness and order whilst under the influence of their excitement and assumed importance. God at last was pleased to grant my prayer, when I proceeded to visit my superior in the convent at Capacabana, where there was even a more furious insurrection of the Indians and a greater number of Spaniards massacred, under circumstances which would make it a heart-rending task to detail them. We, the monks, having no other resource left in our distressing situation than to prepare ourselves to die, did public penance, mildly exhorting the rebels to peaceful conduct, but to no purpose: they paid no attention to the ministers of religion, though, on one occasion, when some Indians most irreverently went to the *sagrario* and *camarin,* (the first where the communion altar is situated, the other where the image of the Virgin is kept,) and searched those sacred precincts without the least respect or veneration, they were observed by some other Indians

who had not yet entirely lost their devotion for that divine image; these, seizing the offenders, bound them to a pillar with strong leather thongs, and in a moment their souls were in the presence of their Maker. We availed ourselves of this occurrence, and endeavoured to impress on the minds of the insurgents the idea that this was a punishment from Heaven, hoping thus to check the rebellion and their sanguinary proceedings; but all our efforts were useless: far more ferocious than wild beasts, and with blood-thirsty fury, they hunted through all the country for the wretched individuals who had hidden themselves in caves and valleys, and all whom they found were put to death on the spot.

"Whilst we were in this painful situation, a messenger from Tupac Catari, who was besieging La Paz, arrived with a letter to my superior, desiring that a monk should immediately be sent to perform the duties of his spiritual vocation; not that he himself felt any respect for religion, but because many of the Indians had begun to remark on the hatred he evinced towards the sacerdotal dignity. The mandate was to be obeyed within four days, under penalty of all the monks being put to the sword, and the church and convent demolished; on which,

the prior and the other fathers, after deliberating on the subject, fixed upon me as the required victim. In order to prevent the destruction of the convent and the slaughter of my brethren, I submitted with unhesitating resignation, and, offering my life as a sacrifice to the will of God, I set off, accompanied by sixty Indians, who hurried me on like a culprit, without the least regard to my unhappy situation. On the road, I ascertained at the village of Guarina that a monk of the order of St. Francis, who had been sent for by the Indians from La Paz, for the like purpose of acting as chaplain to them, had been recently beheaded on the hill near the city, merely because they suspected that he had used his spiritual influence in a defeat which they sustained on Holy Wednesday, when a great number of Indians were slain and taken prisoners. The said father having celebrated mass that day in purple vestments, and having protracted the ceremony of divine service, they pretended that he was secretly and inwardly acting against them. Others attributed their defeat to his having read his breviary during the battle on the summit of the hill overlooking the city, with sundry similar notions instilled by the Devil into their heathenish and perverted minds. In consequence of this in-

telligence, I endeavoured to return to Copacabana, and employed all possible means to get rid of the Indians who accompanied me; but in vain: nothing could shake them in the execution of the order they had received to conduct me to their leader, and several times they threatened to take my life when I sued to be released. I therefore continued my journey until the 15th of April, when my conductors led me into the presence of Tupac Catari.

" This celebrated personage is an uneducated Indian, of ridiculous appearance, about thirty years of age; he was in a sort of half-military dress of black velvet, with a staff of office in his hand, and a numerous retinue about him. Having saluted him in Spanish, he immediately checked me, and ordered me, on pain of death, not to speak any other language than *Aymará*, in conformity with a law which he had enacted. I consequently submitted, and our conversation then turned merely on such topics as are usual on the arrival of a new-comer.

" He had divided his force into twenty-four divisions or cantonments, with a gallows erected in the centre of each, and was in the act of inspecting one of them when I was first introduced, but he speedily conducted me thence to a large shed, or tent, called the palace, in which

were his wife, a Chola about twenty-six years of age, several of his superior officers, many ministers and ambassadors with sashes, two ecclesiastics, who had been compelled to perform the duties of chaplains from the day on which the siege of the city commenced, and his secretary, an Indian, who had resided many years in the city as clerk in the ecclesiastical court. This latter person was a bitter foe of the Spaniards, and opposed every entreaty in favour of the prisoners: he used every means to persuade the people that our Sovereign Lord the King was an unlawful possessor of this country, and continually remarked that the time had now arrived for the fulfilment of the prophecy, that every one should receive his due, and that unto Cæsar should be rendered what belonged unto Cæsar.* He wrote, signed, and

* The above alludes to an ancient tradition relative to the restoration of the Incas of Peru, which is mentioned in the works of Garcilaso and other authors of the time of the conquest, and is translated in Miller's Memoirs thus:—"I declare before God, that it was affirmed to me by Don Antonio de Berreo, as well as by others whom I knew, that amongst other prophecies in their chief temple, (in the city of Cuzco,) which spoke of the loss of the empire, there was one which declared, that it would come to pass that the Incas, or Emperors, or Kings of Peru, would be restored to their throne by a certain people from a country called Inglaterra," (England).

issued all the orders and dispatches with the signature of 'I, the Viceroy Tupac Catari,' or, 'I, the Inca;' for Catari himself could neither read nor write. One of his ministers was charged with superintending the sale of the *coca* (which we may call the tobacco of the Indians); a second with the superintendence of the prisoners and the spoil taken from the dead bodies; a third with the custody of the money, plate, and jewels; and a fourth with the distribution of provisions.

"Astonished at the scene before me, and at the extraordinary proceedings of these people, I continued amongst them, incessantly praying to God to assist the unfortunate inhabitants of La Paz, towards which city I frequently turned my eyes, endeavouring however to repress my tears, for I was not left alone a moment, and if they had perceived my emotions I should have immediately forfeited my life, as many other prisoners had done, merely because they appeared dejected, at which the barbarians took offence, attributing it to grief from being among Indians and not among their own countrymen the Spaniards. One clergyman, minister of the village of Guaqui, was put to death in consequence of his refusal to grant absolution to Catari, after hearing him confess. I myself

and the other ecclesiastics and ministers whom Catari kept prisoners under a separate tent, were many times suddenly broken in upon by him, and threatened to be beheaded; we would then throw ourselves at his feet, and endeavour to persuade him that our faces could not possibly prove that we entertained other feelings than those of contentment and satisfaction with our situations, and by this fiction succeeded in saving our lives.

"In consequence of these extraordinary tragical events, and seeing that if things were to continue in this way there would soon be no priest left alive, I exerted myself to procure, and eventually obtained of Catari, a circular order in favour of the clergy, especially regarding my convent and the ministers in the neighbourhood, who were in constant danger of losing their lives, the property of their churches being already plundered and laid waste.

"I believe that this circular had the effect of checking the depredators; for since my arrival here I have made inquiries, and it does not appear that any other clergyman has been put to death by the barbarians. It was not, however, without much difficulty and exertion that I succeeded in obtaining the favour alluded to, as well as the remission of the sen-

tence of death passed upon several clergymen, more particularly as Catari had now become so much addicted to drinking that he was in a continual state of intoxication, day and night, which so excited his ferocious passions, that the female Indians of all ages were violated in public by him and his profligate chiefs, who imitated his example with impunity. These outrages were tamely submitted to under a fixed determination to preserve the union in which the whole Indian population seemed to be bound; but the caprices of Catari did not end here, for, whenever he became impatient at the delay in obtaining possession of the city, he used to assemble his chiefs and officers, and flog them all round, inflicting on some fifty, on others one hundred lashes, according to their responsibility; and executed all who were suspected by him of want of courage, but more particularly those who did not implicitly obey his mandates, which he required to be held inviolable.

"He frequently visited the tent where the ecclesiastics were confined, and ordered them to be brought to a place which they called the *cabildo*, round which he used to make them walk three times, like condemned criminals. They were then taken to the guard-house, where they

were drawn up in line to be addressed by him, one after another, in such a manner as his humour suggested, which was generally abusive, concluding with condemning them to die, and then causing fetters to be put on, in order the more to terrify them, when the unhappy victims would naturally give way to all the horrors of their situation, watering (for what could they do?) the ground with their tears. Moved by pity and fraternal affection, and encouraged by the indulgence shown to me on similar occasions, I used then to throw myself with great reverence and humility at the feet of Catari, endeavouring to appease his anger by drawing his attention to the tears which flowed copiously from our eyes, and assuring him of our respect and devotion to his person, with many protestations of our readiness to obey whatever he might be pleased to command. At these entreaties, better expressed no doubt by my tears than by my trembling lips, Catari, turning his back with the greatest contempt, and leaving us on our knees, would angrily retire to his palace, and there join the 'Queen' his wife, who was as blood-thirsty as himself, but who sometimes found it expedient to affect pity, and also to endeavour to soothe the tyrant's rage, by kindly handing him his cup and using

other endearments, not for the sake of saving the victims destined to die, but for fear of her own life, which Catari frequently threatened in his anger, though at other times he professed the greatest attachment for her. As I carefully watched their looks, and seized every favourable opportunity of throwing myself at their feet to implore mercy for these unfortunate ecclesiastics, I succeeded in causing many cruel sentences against them to be revoked by Catari, who would then say to his wife—'Queen, I pardon them for thy sake.'

"The Indians, miserably duped, indulged in the visionary prospects set before them by their artful leaders, all of whom, subservient to Catari, obeyed, flattered, and held him up as a divinity, obsequiously paying their court to the despicable tyrant, whose fondness for pageantry and habits of extravagance were carried to a ridiculous excess. At table he had always from twenty to thirty dishes, served up by many negroes, male and female, whom he retained for the purpose; sometimes, too, he commanded the clergymen to wait on him at table, where a continual flourishing of trumpets and music was kept up, amidst loud shouts of 'Long live Thomas Tupac Catari, our Lord Inca! and long live our Queen!' to which the company were

stimulated by the repeated libations in which they indulged. On these and all other occasions, the pretended Queen was constantly by the side of her worthy Lord, displaying a profusion of silver and jewels plundered from the Spaniards who had been murdered by Catari, or by his captains and agents, who daily sent to their master not only articles of value, but also the heads of the unfortunate victims, which latter were thrown by his order into the square called the cabildo, where he occasionally amused himself by kicking and trampling upon them, and thrusting his sword into their eyes, with furious imprecations against all Spaniards.

"This miscreant failed not, however, to attend mass, for the celebration of which a temporary chapel had been erected, and the host placed in it, with an organ and several images taken from the churches and convents. Here was erected a canopy, under which were two chairs with cushions for Catari and his wife; other seats were set apart for his ministers, ambassadors, and retinue, by whom much ceremony and etiquette towards him was observed on these occasions, and all the priests were obliged to attend in their sacerdotal robes. During mass he was usually occupied either in making the most ridiculous grimaces at himself in a glass, which

was purposely placed before him, or in examining a silver box, which he always carried with him, opening and shutting it, and applying it to his ears, to induce the belief that he had by these means the power of obtaining information of every thing that happened, and that it was consequently impossible for him to fail in the execution of whatever he undertook. He had even the temerity to assert that God himself communicated with him by word of mouth. After the service, and on quitting the chapel, he usually gave his blessing to the assembly, calling out '*Quien vive?*' meaning, 'who are you for?' to which all replied with shouts, and amidst the rolling of drums and flourishing of trumpets, 'Our King, the Inca Thomas Tupac Catari!' He would then enter his palace, where his courtiers did humble homage, falling on their knees and kissing the hands both of himself and his wife; a ceremony to which all classes of people were compelled to submit.

"In the camp, insolence and ferocity seemed to increase with the numerous reinforcements of Indians which daily flocked to the siege of La Paz. Three parts of the city had already been destroyed by fire, and in order to carry it by storm, a body of seven or eight thousand men were selected from amongst the multitude,

amounting in all to upwards of fifteen thousand Indians, who had assembled from various provinces. Confident of success, they gave themselves up to great joy, at the idea of being now on the point of reaping the fruits of their machinations, in the pillage and destruction of that opulent city. The night of the 24th of April was fixed on for the assault, and as their hostilities had hitherto (during the two months they had lasted) been always carried on in open day, they hoped to surprise the inhabitants while reposing in confident security.

"The attack began after midnight and continued until daybreak, with the loss, as I judged from some knots of twine in the hands of the captains, of between seven and eight hundred Indians; this, however, I did not think proper to ascertain accurately, there being a positive order prohibiting the number of killed being made known. During the attack, Catari stood on the top of the hill with his wife, some clergymen, and myself, and seeing that from the buildings near the entrenchments the fire had almost communicated to the centre of the city, he considered his triumph certain. 'Now,' said he, 'we have conquered, all will be well with us; I shall soon be able to make war on Tupac Amaro, and then become sole monarch of these king-

doms.' This idea was constantly uppermost in his mind. In the mean time, frequent intelligence was received of the state of the battle; some affirmed that victory on the part of the besiegers was certain, as the Spaniards were flying in the greatest consternation from the city; others, on the contrary, reported that no head could be made against the besieged, who opposed the most obstinate resistance, and spoke with astonishment of the *harmless effects of showers of bullets, and of their entering people's ears unperceived.** The fight terminated at last in the rout of the barbarians, who agreed that the Spaniards must be sorcerers or devils to oppose such a resistance. Still they determined to persist, and fresh attacks were made against the town on several succeeding nights, and even by day, until, all hope of capturing it being lost, they set about new projects and schemes.

"As every thing that passed in the city was well known on the hill, by means of the numerous deserters of both sexes who went over to the besiegers, it was rumoured among the Indians that the Spaniards expected a military reinforcement from the town of Sorata; upon which, it was arranged that a body of Indians,

* The very same thing occurred in the Irish rebellion, at the battle of Vinegar Hill, in 1798.

dressed in the regimentals and accoutrements collected from the King's troops that had been killed on various occasions, should appear at a stated time on the Lima road, as if approaching to relieve the city, when a sham fight with another body of Indians, posted for the purpose, should immediately take place.

" The pretended Spaniards were accordingly led by Pedro Obaya, a daring character, who had joined the rebels from the beginning, and who called himself Guayna Capac (the little king); he was conspicuously dressed, and rode a horse highly caparisoned. In the course of the sham-fight, he dispatched a messenger into the city with a fictitious letter to the Governor, imploring the assistance of the garrison, which the Indians had made preparation for receiving by the judicious disposal of upwards of four thousand men in ambuscade. Guayna Capac, impatient at the delay in sending out the garrison, boldly penetrated within a short distance of one of the entrenchments, even to the new bridge of St. Sebastian, and there crying aloud for assistance, the feint was discovered, and a sally being made from the town, this daring and mischievous leader was taken prisoner.

" The impression produced on the rebels by the miscarriage of this scheme was counter-ba-

lanced by the accession of new friends, Indians, and *cholos;* the latter were now kindly received by the besiegers, and not ill-treated, as before; although, in the event of any reverse of fortune, they were always suspected as enemies; and on one occasion, when a battle proved unfavourable to the besiegers, they put to death every *cholo* that was among them.

"In this posture of affairs, two letters were received from Sicasica, addressed to the leaders of the Indians who were besieging La Paz, informing them that the Indians of Sicasica had determined not to obey the orders of Catari, in whom they could not acknowledge either right or qualification to rule over them, he having assumed the name of Tupac Catari, the former leader of the Indians of Chayanta; they consequently advised them to raise the siege of La Paz, as they were also in imminent danger from Spanish troops, who had already arrived in Oruro, and were making great havoc among the Indians of the surrounding country.

"This intelligence being communicated to Catari, he immediately, with part of his force, marched against the Indians of Sicasica, leaving to his wife the command and control of the besiegers; but, on arriving at Hayohayo, he

intercepted a document addressed to the true Tupac Catari, from his friend and confederate Gabriel Tupac Amaro the principal Indian insurgent; this contained a statement of the causes that had compelled him to rise in rebellion.

" Catari now returned to his former position, giving out that the said communication was addressed to *him*, and that, as the contents were highly satisfactory, he ordered three days of rejoicing, which was entered into by the Indians with all the enthusiasm so peculiar to these people in their feasts and merrimaking.

" Amidst this rejoicing, another letter was received, with intelligence that the Spaniards were approaching Sicasica, and putting all the Indians to the sword; in consequence of which Catari prepared a new expedition and marched to oppose them. He left, as on the former occasion, his wife in management of every thing during his absence, and she acquitted herself in such a manner that Catari was not in any degree missed. The siege was as closely pressed, although, soon after the departure of her husband, she sent him a reinforcement of a thousand men, infantry and cavalry. She held frequent consultations with the leaders, ministers, and officers of the several divisions of the be-

sieging force, encouraged them to persevere in resistance to the last gasp of their lives, and constantly introduced the subject of the grievances, extortions, and imposts to which the Indians were subjected by the ministers of the King of Spain, whose tyranny they alleged had forced them into rebellion.

" Whilst things were going on in the manner above described, Mariano Morillo, who was charged with the management of the mountain-guns, and who escaped being put to death, in consequence of the need the Indians had of his services as a gunner, was accidentally detected with a letter that had been conveyed to him from the city. The unhappy man was instantly dragged close to the entrenchment, and after having both arms chopped off at the elbows, was sent in that condition into the city, with the following letter, in mockery of his friends, the Governor and royalists, whom he had designed to serve.

" I HAVE received a letter written to Mariano, in which you give him particular directions where, and how to deliver us up, for which reason I send him to you, that he himself may direct every thing: and I farther inform you, that I fearlessly expect you at Potopoto, and I hope you will send me word that it is your intention to come. I learn, moreover, that the succours coming to you from Buenos

Ayres, Chuquisaca, Potosi, and Oruro, have been destroyed by the Indians of Sicasica; therefore, I care not for your schemes. In the mean time, may God preserve your health many years.

"I, The Lord Viceroy Tupac Catari."

"At length, on the 21st of May, I succeeded in making my escape from the rebels and gained the city, to which it has been my ardent wish and constant endeavour to afford all possible information and relief; proving thereby my loyalty and devotion to my Sovereign, whose preservation, as well as that of your Excellency, is the constant object of my prayers.

(Signed) "Frey Mathias de la Borda.

"*La Paz*, 30*th May*, 1781."

CHAPTER V.

Continuation of the Journal of Don Sebastian de Segurola.

"When the siege of the city was raised, a great number of Indians solicited pardon, which they readily obtained, but a much greater number continued in hostility. On the 2d of July, the wife of the pretended Tupac Catari, together with his 'chief courier' and secretary, fell into the hands of our party, and were conducted into the city, where the latter was immediately executed, and the vice-queen and her courier committed to prison. In the evening a detachment of the rebels appeared with a white flag, and sent a letter to me, offering in exchange for the wife of Catari a clergyman, whom they retained as prisoner, also proposing peace on terms which were entirely inadmissible. I, however, replied to the rebels, that the King our Lord did not desire the ruin of his people;

I promised, in his royal name, a full pardon to all who, acknowledging their errors, should retire to their homes, and live as became dutiful subjects. On the following day the white flag reappeared, having on the extremity of its staff the head of an Indian. The bearer delivered three letters, one from a body of the rebels soliciting pardon, another from the clergyman imploring his exchange for the wife of Catari, and the third from Catari himself, merely stating that he sent me the head of the Indian with whom he had discovered I was carrying on a secret correspondence.

" During the siege, the curate of Pucarani was taken prisoner by the rebels, and compelled to remain in that town to keep charge of the money, jewels, and other property, plundered by Catari. This curate succeeded in making his escape, and, accompanied by a body of Indians of his parish who had returned to their allegiance, arrived safely in this city, bringing with him about twelve thousand dollars in specie and seventeen trunks of silver plate, part of the property which had been placed in his custody, and which he here delivered up.

" The troops who came to our relief and raised the siege, on the 30th of June, being chiefly militia of the province of Cochebamba,

became impatient to return home, and could not be prevailed on by their commander to remain at La Paz; General Flores therefore marched for that province, and no sooner were we thus abandoned, than the rebels reassembled and besieged us a second time.

"On the 13th of August, 1781, three Indians, calling themselves Colonels of Andres Tupac Amaro, son of the principal chief, arrived at the heights with five thousand men, their chief having remained with his principal force at Sorata, which town, after a siege of ninety-two days, he took by storm, at the head of sixteen thousand Indians. A clergyman who witnessed the destruction of that town has favoured me with the following particulars.

"When Tupac Amaro, the Cacique of Tungasuca, commenced the insurrection, I retired from my curacy at Vilque to Sorata, and reached that town on the 1st of April, the very day on which the Indians, in number about five thousand, surrounded it, and besieged us for fourteen days. During that time they made several desperate attacks, but at last, having deprived us even of the necessary supply of water, we made an unexpected sally with a thousand men, and forced the enemy to retreat

with the loss of three hundred men on their part and only *three* on ours.

"We remained twenty days unmolested by the enemy, but not expecting a second attack, no measures were taken to supply the town with provisions; indeed, although there was abundance in the neighbourhood, the Indians always delayed bringing in a supply, alleging that the corn was not in a state for being reaped, and other difficulties, evidently designed on their part to increase our embarrassment.

"On the 4th of May, while in a state of perfect tranquillity, and totally unprovided for a siege, we were attacked by about twenty thousand Indians, commanded by Andres Tupac Amaro, an Indian youth between eighteen and twenty years of age, son of the principal leader of the rebellion. The garrison of the town, unable to oppose this force, retired within the trenches, there to act on the defensive, while the enemy completely surrounding us, annoyed us day and night by incessant discharges of musketry. We were thus hemmed in for the space of three months, until the 5th of August, that lamentable day on which the town and its inhabitants ceased to exist.

"During the siege, the Indian chief sent us

three summonses; the first, simply requiring the town to be immediately surrendered, received no answer. The second, conveyed by an ecclesiastic, contained offers of peace on such conditions as might be agreed upon between commissioners to be appointed on both sides. This proposal met with a ready assent, owing to the extreme necessity to which we were reduced for want of the means of subsistence, having for some time fed upon mules, cats, dogs, rats, and other unclean things. A truce of two days accordingly took place, during which short interval the inhabitants endeavoured to get what little provisions they could.

"On the day appointed for entering into the treaty of peace, our Commandant, accompanied by another officer of the garrison, went out to meet the Indians, as had been agreed upon; but, while in the act of fulfilling their commission, they were suddenly attacked by a party of the enemy, who beat them to death, *(acabaron con ellos à palos)*. This tragical event again obliged us to retire within our trenches, when all the calamities of a siege were renewed. The third summons was to the same effect as the first, 'that the town should surrender at discretion, and submit to the banner of Tupac Amaro.' We returned a verbal

reply, that we knew not what could have encouraged such presumption.

"Disappointed at our obstinacy, and knowing our determination not to yield, the enemy, on the 4th of August, tried the expedient of directing the course of the river out of its usual channel, by means of mounds, to a ravine communicating with the town; so that the water, in rushing down upon the trenches and ramparts, might wash them away, and thus open a breach to storm the place. The first attempt, although the water overflowed the ramparts, had not the desired effect; but on the following day the walls, being damaged by the preceding inundation, easily gave way to the violence of the torrent that was directed against them. The men who defended the trenches fled in a panic to the centre of the town, which the enemy entered without opposition, and committed every excess that ferocious monsters can be conceived capable of. All whom they met were put to death; some were shot, some hanged, some killed by the sword, and some by bludgeons. Even of those who had taken refuge in the church, the only few spared were the ecclesiastics and women; though some of these perished for having interceded for the lives of their friends and relations. After

having plundered both the dead and the few remaining of the living, depriving the latter even of the necessary raiment to cover their bodies, the rebels set fire to the town and reduced it to ashes. Thus perished Sorata and its unfortunate inhabitants.*

"Soon after the foregoing event, young Andres Tupac Amaro appeared before La Paz, and dispatched an ecclesiastic in the character of ambassador to the city, with the following copy of a proclamation which had been issued by his father.

"IN THE NAME OF HIS MAJESTY, WHOM GOD PRESERVE, I, the Governor Don José Gabriel Tupac Amaro, lineal descendant of the blood royal, and legitimate heir of the monarchs who ruled over these kingdoms of Peru, &c.

"By the present proclamation, I make known to all Spaniards, Creoles, and Indians, inhabitants of the cities, towns, and places, of this kingdom of Peru, to whom this document shall come, that a zealous minister, Don Bentura de Santilises y Benero, late governor and superintendent of the imperial city of Potosi, submitted to his Majesty Don Carlos III. at the

* Some say that 20,000 persons perished in Sorata, and that, except a few ecclesiastics, not a single male was left alive.

earnest instance of Don Blas Tupac Amaro, Inca, (my late relative,) the grievous injuries and utter ruin caused by the frequent taxations imposed by the corregidors; by the exorbitant duties of the excise; by the usurious transactions of Europeans; and above all, by the excessive labour, fatigue, and destruction of the natives, in the cruel *mita* of Potosi; as also the severe hardship of continual services exacted by the same corregidors, priests, and other authorities, from the unhappy natives.

"With a zealous wish to regulate those abuses and corrupt practices, which were exposed by the depositions of the said Don Bentura de Santilises y Benero, his Majesty was pleased to appoint him to the office of Minister of the Supreme Council of the Indies, and summoned him to Spain, where he was deprived of life by means of poison inclosed in a letter which was delivered to him at the moment of his arrival at Madrid. Thus did this iniquitous act delay the termination of existing disorders and injuries. But, notwithstanding so perverse a deed, another attempt was made by the aforesaid Don Blas Tupac Amaro, Inca, my relative, who proceeded to Spain, and there supplied such ample evidence of the evils above cited, that our Lord the King was pleased to name

him captain and protector of the natives of the town of Potosi, with a good salary ; giving him full powers to put an end to the misrule and disorders of corregidors, excise officers, foreign usurers, and also the cruel *mita* of Potosi, with other grievous impositions : on learning which, the parties interested had recourse a second time to murder, and treacherously deprived the said Don Blas Tupac Amaro of life while re-crossing the sea to execute and fulfil his commission in this kingdom of Peru.

" In consequence of those two perfidious acts, and of the motives which occasioned them, as also on a representation being made by me that all anterior acts of grace, conceded with a view to put an end to bad government and public grievances, were kept back by interested ministers, his Majesty, in his royal integrity, (*real integridad,*) irritated and indignant, conferred on me a commission, with full authority to destroy and exterminate the corregidors, revenue officers, and Europeans, and to remove those burdens with which the miserable natives and Creoles of the kingdom are weighed down, with express instructions, that in case any opposition should be offered by the corregidors, with the assistance of the Creoles, or that the natives should not cordially co-operate in these

measures for the public benefit, they should all be hanged, beheaded, and destroyed.

" On my commencing to execute justice on the said corregidors, some of them remonstrated, and others, on pretence of defending the crown, raised military forces to oppose the accomplishment of my superior orders, on which account I have declared open war for the punishment and destruction of all rebels; and in consequence of my having acted in conformity with the royal decree transmitted to me by his Majesty, he has been pleased, in approbation of my entire conduct, to reward me with the Viceroyalty of Lima, of which office I am about to take possession; therefore, in exercise of the powers so fully conceded to me, I transfer them, as of right, to the Marquis and Governor Don Andrés Tupac Amaro, Inca, my legitimate son, that he may immediately depart for the provinces of La Paz, Chuquisaca, Potosi, and Cochabamba, at the head of two hundred thousand native soldiers, with four thousand firelocks, twelve six-pound cannon, and eight petards, *(pedreros)* with directions to form a junction with all the Creoles and natives, for the purpose of everywhere attacking the rebels. And my said son and his chiefs on their march through those districts will receive the soldiers

who shall offer their services; and will at the same time enlist into his ranks all natives, from seven years of age upwards, taking every precaution that all things shall tend to the advantage of the said natives, especially of those who have not rebelled, and who have defended themselves against the enemy. For which objects, and in consequence of my departure for the said city of Lima, I ordain that my said son, Don Andres Tupac Amaro shall, in order to carry on the war, have special power, in cases of sickness or other causes, to name such commissioners and chiefs as he may think fit, expressly enjoining them, before entering any city, town, or place, where they may meet with opposition, first to dispatch messengers or ambassadors with offers of pardon, on condition that all arms be surrendered, and that the inhabitants join my standard. And, in case of refusal, that they shall advance with all the rigours of war, bloodshed, fire, and sword, *(a fuerza de guerra viva y sangre y fuego,)* as a summary punishment for their obstinacy in rebellion, and thus overthrow all evil government,—and so may the King Don Carlos III. live many years!

"In order that this decree may be known

by all, and no one plead ignorance of its contents, it shall be published by sound of drum and trumpet, with due solemnity, in all the provinces and parishes of this kingdom. Done in this capital of Tinta, in the province of the same name.

(Signed)

" Don Jose Gabriel Tupac Amaro, Inca.

" I certify this to be a true copy of the original.

(Signed)

" Andres Tupac Amaro."

" The foregoing proclamation was accompanied by a letter from Andres Tupac Amaro to our Bishop in this city, and of which the following is a copy.

" To the most illustrious Señor Don Gregorio Francisco de Campos.

" DEAR AND MOST HIGHLY-ESTEEMED SIR.

" I do not doubt, illustrious Sir, that you and all the inhabitants of this city are well acquainted with the royal order which his Majesty Charles the Third (whom God preserve!) issued in the year last past, 1780, commanding the abolition of the abuses, excesses, and

bad government of the corregidors: the exorbitant duties of the customs: the usuries of the Europeans, and the *mita* of Potosi, by which the natives are sacrificed to the private interests of the mine proprietors, without any benefit to the crown: and the same as regards other rigorous and vexatious services imposed upon the poor Indians; so that the kingdom has been sensibly verging towards its utter destruction. To eradicate these notorious injuries, our Lord the King has issued a royal decree, the execution of which has been committed to my father, the Marquis de Alcalises,* Don José Gabriel Tupac Amaro, Inca, descended from the blood-royal of the monarchs who governed these realms of Peru. Having consequently begun to execute his commission, by punishing some of the corregidors, the others united and raised a military force to oppose his authority, though without any other effect than that of bringing down ruin upon themselves and their families, for having thus acted in disobedience to the express order of

* How or when Tupac Amaro obtained the title of Marquis I have not been able to ascertain. It will have been observed, that this title (according to the Spanish custom,) was also assumed by the son during the father's lifetime.

his Majesty. But, in the justice and mercy of my father, the said Marquis, and in order to prove his clemency towards the natives and Creoles of the kingdom, and to manifest the rectitude of his conduct and his sound intentions, he pardoned their disobedience, on condition that, delivering up their arms, they should enlist under the banners which, by royal authority, have been committed to him: and being unavoidably prevented from acting, in consequence of his having been appointed to the Viceroyalty of Lima, he has transferred his commission to me.

"In order therefore to avoid the calamities which must result from the continuance of the present war, I have thought fit to dispatch this embassy, proposing peace, which, from my clemency and compassion towards the Spaniards, I seek for their sake, that they may live in quietness and tranquillity as before, without those discords and animosities among Christians, which bring destruction on themselves, their families, and property; and although this has happened in some cases, it was because the Creole inhabitants, suffering themselves to be imposed upon, obeyed the commands of the corregidors, and joined in

their defence, without perceiving that these were their greatest enemies, who were rendering themselves opulent by the labour and sweat of others, imposing numerous taxes, and many other vexatious burdens, which the King has ordered to be abolished by his chosen commissioner my father.

"And, that every thing may conduce to the comfort, ease, and satisfaction of the natives and Creoles, whom I zealously endeavour to serve, to the end that they may live in peace and tranquillity, I, from this moment, offer them my kindness as the last token of that paternal affection with which I look upon them, by recommending all those who reside in the city of La Paz to avail themselves of my generosity by surrendering their arms. On delivering them to me, and placing themselves under my banners, I solemnly promise, on the royal word of honour, to receive, favour, and protect them, in the name of his Majesty. On the other hand, should they persist in rebellion, I announce to them the coming to pass of as fatal tragedies and misfortunes as human misery can exhibit, such as recently have befallen the rebels of Sorata, who, waiting for assistance, which Jesus Christ in his inscrutable will was not

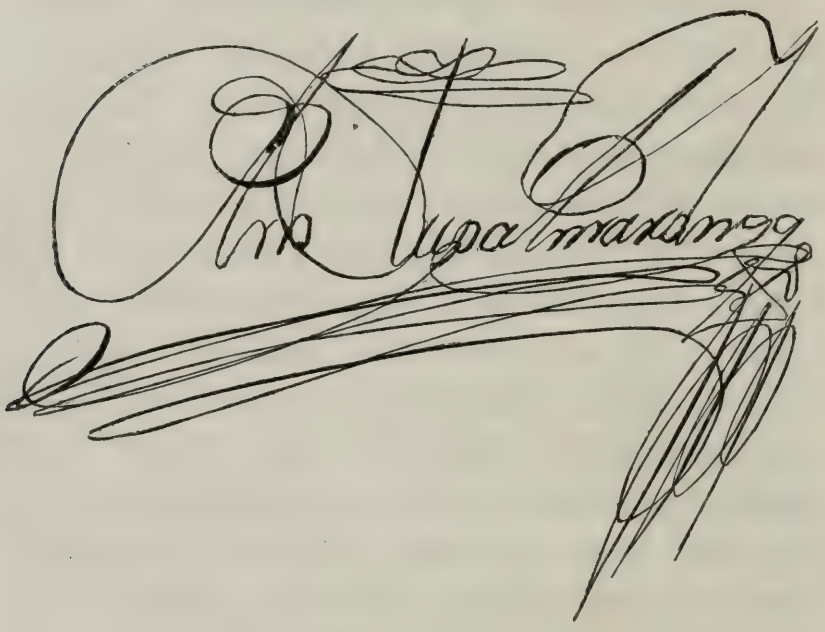
pleased to grant to them, were finally destroyed on the fifth of the present month. Again, upwards of three thousand persons, who availed themselves of proposals of peace from me, now find themselves in the enjoyment of liberty and comfort, and are grateful for the kindness received from my liberal hand.

"Wishing that all in your city may partake of the same clemency, I request, illustrious Sir, that you communicate this to them, so that the sheep of your flock may receive, by means of their pastor, the counsel they need; for which purpose, summon a meeting of the ecclesiastics and the corporation, with such other persons as may be deemed requisite, and let them consult upon the subject, and communicate the result to me; that I may thereby determine on executing hereafter what may be most advisable, either in adjusting terms of peace, if they are accepted with the gratitude due to my benevolence, or prosecuting the war which has hitherto been carried on by Don Julian Tupac Catari, brother of the chief Don Thomas Tupac Catari, who has been treacherously put to death, a treachery which is not likely to occur on the present occasion; for although I have not now with me any great

force, because of my peaceful intentions, yet have I sufficient power to destroy cities of more consequence than that of La Paz and its inhabitants.

"Our Lord keep you, illustrious Sir, many years.

"27th of August, 1781." (Signed)



"A few days after the foregoing documents had been delivered, another ecclesiastic, who had been acting as chaplain to Andres, and had effected his escape, informed us that the principal Tupac Amaro had been taken by our troops near Cusco, and executed in that city, together

with his wife; but that his forces had rallied round his son Andres and other members of his family; which was subsequently confirmed by a letter from a person at Cusco to his friend at La Paz, from which the following are extracts.

"We have this day, 7th of April, received the joyful news of the defeat and capture of the principal rebel Tupac Amaro, with his wife and children, and several leaders, who accompanied him. I would willingly give you a detailed account of all the circumstances attending this event, but as the courier is about to start, I must be brief.

"On the 31st of March, the heads of two notorious leaders, Parvina and Bermudez, who were killed in a battle fought in the province of Tinta, were brought to this city. Of six thousand Indians who were engaged in that affair, one thousand were killed fighting with the greatest bravery.

"After the battle, the Inspector-general of the province marched with a body of sixteen thousand men to Tungasuca, the court of Tupac Amaro. This chief, informed of the approach of our troops, encamped in the neighbouring fields, and offered battle with all that valour and dexterity for which he is famed. His cannon, however, were badly managed, and caused us but little loss. One division of our army, having gained an advantageous position, rushed upon the enemy with irresistible fury, and caused so much havoc and carnage among them, that Tupac Amaro, seeing his troops dispersed and his artillery in our power, fled from the field, and sent orders to his wife and family to escape. Having swam across a rapid river, and gained in safety the opposite bank, he was there seized by one of his own colonels, who, ex-

pecting to obtain his pardon by this act, delivered him up to us; his wife and family soon after shared the same fate. To-morrow I shall accompany a judge to the camp to conduct these personages into the city, where they will receive their merited reward.

"Francis Tupac Amaro, an uncle of the rebel, with another cacique called Torres, both famous captains, have also been taken. The first was dressed in the royal garb of the ancient Incas, with the arms of Tupac Amaro embroidered in gold at the corners. This city seems all joy, though two trunks full of documents which have fallen into our hands will not fail to disturb the night's rest of many persons here. Among the plunder which has been taken from the rebels, are twelve large cases of gold and silver plate, diamonds, &c."*

"One day, a number of Indians approached the trenches, suing for pardon, and requesting that it might be conveyed to them by the wife of Catari. Suspecting this to be a trap to get her back into their hands, I thought to convert it into one against themselves; and, hoping to seize Catari, I ordered that his wife should be taken from prison, and led outside the trenches,

* No particulars of the execution of the chief, José Tupac Amaro, are given in this Journal, but it is well known that his unhappy end was to behold from the scaffold the execution of his wife and children, after which his tongue was cut out, his limbs were then torn asunder by horses, and the mutilated fragments consumed to ashes.

and placing at the same time some troops in ambush, prepared to fall upon the Indians when they approached to speak to her; but the rebels being too cautious, my stratagem failed. The following letter was soon after brought to me by an Indian woman.

"To-morrow, or the day after, I shall expect my wife Doña Bartolo Susa. My said wife has committed no crime, great or small. If this is not obeyed, every thing shall be burned and destroyed. *Vale.*

Signed, "I, The Señor Inca."*

"The enemy now projected the destruction of the town in a manner similar to that which proved so fatally successful at Sorata; and to this end they constructed dikes in different parts of the river, for a space of twelve miles, completely stopping the current, which, at a fit opportunity, was to be suddenly let flow.

"Aware of this proceeding, we were constantly upon the watch, and had taken such measures as we judged sufficient to prevent serious accident, when, on the 12th of October, about eleven o'clock at night, a tremendous

* Nothing more is mentioned in this journal of the desperado Tupac Catari, or his wife.

roaring noise was heard descending the channel of the river, and instantly an immense body of water rushed in with such impetuosity, that, notwithstanding all our precautions, it overflowed twenty yards beyond the banks, carrying away one of the bridges and damaging the others; some houses were also washed down, but only three or four persons perished. The flood lasted about an hour, then gradually subsided. On the following day a great number of people went out of the town to gather up the goods and furniture that had been carried away by the torrent; and some, having gone too far, were suddenly surprised by a party of rebels who were in ambush, and killed and captured several of them.

"The city was now reduced to the greatest distress; the allowance of meat to the soldiers was four ounces per day: mules, horses, and other animals, were again used as food, and even these were nearly exhausted, when, on the 17th of October, 1781, we discovered a drove of llamas, laden with provisions, descending towards the city by the road of Potosi. This, it may be supposed, was a joyful sight to us all, and no sooner did the provisions arrive, than they were converted, together with

the animals which carried them, to immediate use.

"A few hours afterwards we were gratified by the appearance of our troops on the surrounding mountains, descending towards the city; thus putting an end to its second siege, which had lasted seventy-five days; during which time the rebels did their utmost, as in the former siege, to reduce this unfortunate city to ruins.

" From Cusco we received intelligence of the surrender of Diego Tupac Amaro, brother of the deceased José. The following is a copy of his speech on receiving his Majesty's pardon.

" Speech of Diego Christoval Tupac Amaro, delivered publicly on the 6th of January, 1782.

" Señor General Comandante, &c.

" In this illustrious council, wherein you represent the sacred person of my Lord and King, Charles III. whom God preserve, I, and my family, and all other erring vassals, are now going to receive that most generous pardon, which, in future ages, will be regarded with astonishment. Behold, Sir, prostrate at your feet, that scandal of Peru, he whose conduct

and excesses have proved him a conspicuous leader in the innumerable calamities which have befallen this kingdom. I, Diego Christoval Tupac Amaro, brother of that unfortunate Joseph Gabriel, the principal promoter of the rebellion, whose steps I followed, and whose commissions I executed, not from ambitious or interested views, much less with any disposition to rebel against my King and Lord, however much appearances may prove the contrary. I was, in fact, totally ignorant of the intentions of my brother; he never communicated to me his plans or projects, though he called me his son, and as such he always treated me; and when he committed his first crime at Tungasuca, by putting his corregidor to death, he enjoined me, at the peril of my life, to pursue the line of conduct which he was to point out. I punctually executed his commands, mastering (*avasallando*) and exciting the Indians, who, being oppressed by the corregidors, as numerous complaints against them can testify, were readily disposed to exterminate them and their office even to the very name. But, my crimes have made the chains which now bind me; I acknowledge myself guilty; I pretend not to diminish those crimes, for great as they have

been, the mercy of our gracious Sovereign has been still greater in forgiving them. Do you also pardon my frailties; let the Royal clemency throw a veil over my misconduct. Elevated as I may have been with the thought that the blood of the Tupac Amaros circulated in my veins, it now tends only to sink me the deeper into nothingness; a circumstance which may not excite your pity so much as it does my confusion.

"These are the arms with which I have offended my Sovereign; I now surrender them with a serious intention never again to use them even in defence of my own life. At Azangaro I left several pieces of cannon, which I did not bring with me, lest the Indians should think I was preparing for a new revolt; you can dispose of them to the best service of my King and Lord. Do also the same with me and my family: I only pray you not to reduce me to so hard a fate as to deprive me of my liberty and honour; rather than that, I am ready to sacrifice a thousand lives, if it were possible, to appease my offended Sovereign. If I am allowed, I will endeavour to restore my name and reputation, and efface the stain which my conduct has cast upon my family. Had this

grace been offered to me sooner, I would have long before this embraced it, and submitted to the law; but, seeing my life threatened in the proclamations that daily came into my hands, I necessarily delayed my submission, and I feel fully persuaded, that if this mercy had been made known to my ill-fated brother, he would also have availed himself of it; but an all-governing Providence has delayed it for my good. Admit then, Sir, my submission, and my promise to become a loyal and faithful subject for the future.

"DIEGO CHRISTOVAL TUPAC AMARO."

"Decreed—That the humble petition of the prisoner be accorded in pursuance of the general pardon offered in the amnesty published by order of his Excellency Don Agustin de Jauregui, Viceroy of these realms. But as the prisoner and all his accomplices are under the ecclesiastical censure of excommunication, pronounced against them at the beginning of the rebellion by his grace the Bishop of this diocese, we consider it an indispensable preliminary that the petitioner be first absolved from his ecclesiastical disabilities."

"The bishop having consented to grant ab-

solution, the ceremony was performed according to the rites of the Roman Church, and Diego Tupac Amaro, with three hundred of his accomplices, were absolved accordingly on the 27th of January, 1782. After the ceremony, the decree of pardon was read, and Tupac Amaro, having heard all its conditions, made oath in the name of God, (making at the same time the sign of the cross,) religiously to fulfil every condition prescribed, and afterwards repeated the same oath in the name of his nephews and the rest of his family. In proof of his fidelity, he also said, that at the cost of his life he would effect the pacification of the towns which still remained in a state of insurrection, and unsheathing his sword, which he was allowed to wear for this ceremony, he delivered it up, but it was immediately returned to him, with an exhortation to employ it in future in the service of his Majesty. He was then conducted to the great altar, where, kneeling down before the officiating minister, the flag which had served in the conquest of this country, and has been ever since kept in this church, was waved three times over his head, all the standard-bearers of the regiments present performing the same with their colours,

under a salute of artillery and musketry, which concluded the ceremony.

"After the siege of La Paz was raised, peace was gradually restored in most of the provinces, and in the course of five months the Indians, excepting those who inhabited the mountains, returned to their allegiance. The latter still continued their depredations, and at Italaque and Mocomoro, they put to the sword all the Spaniards who fell into their hands, not sparing women or children: I therefore prepared an expedition against them, and, on the 23d of February, 1782, set out from La Paz.

"After six days' march, we discovered a multitude of Indians assembled in various well-chosen positions on our right, and wished to get possession of that which appeared to be the most advantageous one, which was on the summit of a very steep hill, nearly surrounded by a lake, and having on one side only a narrow approach on the edge of a tremendous precipice. This place was defended by about eighty of the enemy, posted behind the ruined walls of an ancient fortification. Taking with me eighty veterans, accompanied by several volunteers, we attacked the position, keeping up a heavy fire of musketry which the enemy

seemed totally to disregard, although their greater number proved to be women, who defended themselves with the utmost obstinacy and valour. Many times had I seen Indian women fight, but on this occasion their conduct was such as to have merited a glorious renown had they been engaged in a better cause. Not only did they defend the post like heroines, but when they could no longer keep it, after our troops, by dint of fighting inch by inch, had gained the summit, they threw themselves down the precipices and were dashed to atoms. In the fort we found some few alive, and many children, all of whom were sacrificed to the fury of our soldiers. Cattle, provisions, and sundry necessaries, had been stored here by the rebels, who considered the spot impregnable. After this affair we continued our march over the mountains, defeating the rebels and burning their houses, and, on the 3d of March, we arrived at Italaque, where we found only an ecclesiastic, who informed us that the inhabitants had fled to a neighbouring mountain on our approach, but that they were disposed to submit, and soon after they sent commissioners, accompanied by several Spanish women who had fled to this place for refuge. If pardon were granted to them, they

promised, in the name of the others, to return to their allegiance, to assist in pacifying their neighbours, and to live in future as good and loyal subjects. This petition I readily granted, but neither their humble demeanour, nor the solemn promise I had given, could restrain the wickedness of the troops. Twenty-five of these unfortunate creatures, who, trusting in our promise, had returned to their homes, were sacrificed by them. The troops from Cochabamba were conspicuous for their spirit of insubordination, abandoning themselves to outrage and plunder at every opportunity: even the poor Spanish women, who had obtained protection among the rebels, were robbed by these villains. The want of regular troops obliged us to bear with this undisciplined soldiery. After having restored the town to peace, fatigued, and encumbered with the great number of Spanish women and children who had taken refuge with us, I returned to La Paz.

"On my arrival there, I found an order from General Flores, to march against the rebels of Collona and other towns of the mountains down the river, where great cruelties had been committed on the Spaniards; at the same time I received a decree, dated January the 21st, 1782,

issued by the Viceroy of Buenos Ayres, granting pardon and forgiveness to all the rebels who, abandoning their wicked purposes, should present themselves within the space of forty days before the military or civil authorities of their respective districts. I immediately published this amnesty, calling upon the Indians to avail themselves of it, and thus put an end to the evils that surrounded them. Our Lord the Bishop, as patron and protector of the natives, also employed his influence to obtain the same desirable object.

"This act of mercy on the part of our Catholic Monarch, produced as little effect as others that had been published before. The rebels, considering it to be a proof of our weakness, continued their revolt, insulting us even to our faces. Resolved to make them pay with their lives and property for their obstinacy, I marched with about three thousand men, and had not proceeded above five miles, when we observed the rebels, in number five thousand, on a hill, evincing by shouts, discharges of musketry, and slinging of stones, their intention to resist us. After some difficulty we gained the summit, and put the enemy to flight, having killed about a hundred of them, men and women;

in their camp we found a hundred mules, a great supply of provisions, a flag, some lances, and *one musket.* We then proceeded to Collona, where we found the rebels, in number between two and three thousand, posted on an eminence prepared to oppose us, but, as we approached, they retired, though not without considerable loss. Another body, the greatest part of whom were women, had possession of a hill near the town; these insulted us with the greatest impudence, and coolly returned the fire of our musketry with showers of stones; we however soon gained the summit, when about six hundred Indians, men and women, perished by the sword and bayonet, (*arma blanca*). We found a good supply of provisions, cattle, and a well-constructed manufactory of gunpowder in the town of Collona, the whole of which I ordered to be destroyed, sparing only the church. We afterwards directed our march towards Colioni, where I had been informed that a body of three thousand Indians, well armed, had taken up a position on the hills at the base of the famous mountain of Ilimani. On arriving there we attacked and put the enemy to flight, many of whom perished in the snow. At Colioni, some women with a white flag came to solicit our mercy for their

town, and pardon for three hundred of the inhabitants who had retired to the mountains. I readily granted their request, and dismissed them, accompanied by commissioners, who were charged to exhort the Indians of the district to avail themselves of the grace and clemency of our gracious Sovereign.

"We remained at Colioni for some time, to promote and encourage the pacification which had already commenced, and had the gratification of finding that many Indians, with their families, availed themselves of the pardon, and returned, as they had promised, to their homes, all of whom were received and treated with the greatest kindness.

"Having established order in the whole of this district, I marched farther into the mountains, and was everywhere received by the Indians with demonstrations of joy, that gave our excursion the appearance of a triumphal procession among friends, for in all the villages we were received with rustic dances, shows, and festivals, in testimony of the general happiness at the restoration of peace.

"The pleasure we experienced from these last events was sadly embittered by the recital of horrible cruelties committed by the rebels

of Corosco. These barbarians had massacred every Spaniard, Mestizo, Cholo, Negro, and Mulatto, in the district, not sparing even the infants. Besides inflicting the most exquisite torments, they vied with each other in quaffing the blood of their victims, which many of them did even to excess. On the festival of Holy Thursday, while the Host was exposed in the church, they there massacred five hundred and seventy-two persons, practising such cruelties, that if the fear of exciting doubts as to the veracity of my statements did not arrest my pen, many facts might be related, which are so repugnant to the sentiments of humanity, that they could not be believed; nevertheless, we treated all the Indians who sued for pardon with due consideration.

"At Chupe I received a letter from General Valle, in which he acquainted me with the happy success of his arms, and the imprisonment of some of the principal leaders of the rebellion.

"Having now restored tranquillity in the mountainous districts, and the news received from all quarters being of a peaceful nature, I distributed detachments in different places for the maintenance of what had been performed, and returned to La Paz, which city I

entered on the 16th of June, 1782. The inhabitants, well satisfied with the services we had rendered them, received us with the most flattering tokens of gratitude and joy ; and the Indians, with their leaders, having everywhere submitted and sued for pardon, all parties returned to their homes to enjoy the blessings of peace."

[Here closes the Governor's Journal.]

Some have affirmed that one-third of the whole population of Peru perished by the hand of violence in this rebellion ; and it is not difficult to believe the assertion, since it has been shown by the preceding accounts, that the Indians, in some towns and districts, destroyed all the Spaniards, Cholos, and Mestizos, who fell into their hands, without sparing either sex or age. We have also seen that the Spanish troops retaliated, when in their power so to do, and in their turn destroyed men, women, and children. The slaughter among the undisciplined Indians, armed principally with slings, must have been immense, when opposed to the fire of the Spanish soldiers. The reinforcements sent to the Royal army from Buenos Ayres, Tucuman, and Cochabamba, were for the most part regu-

lar troops; the Buenos Ayreans were armed and equipped as European soldiers; the Tucumanos composed the cavalry, and were armed with butcher-knives and lasos; the Cochabambinos used short clubs loaded with lead, and which, by means of a string several yards in length, they could fling from them, and were deadly weapons. The mode of attacking the Indians was first by the fire of musketry, to throw them into confusion, when, if the ground admitted, the Tucuman horsemen rode among them, dragging down whole ranks with their lasos, followed by the Cochabambinos, who despatched them with their clubs.

Thus terminated a sanguinary contest of nearly two years, commenced in all the recklessness of revenge by a naturally docile and unoffending people, goaded to desperation by the unceasing tyranny and oppression of their despotic rulers. An iron bondage of nearly two centuries, unrelieved by a single gleam of hope, was ill calculated to prolong submission or forbearance: and although, in this struggle for freedom, every principle of humanity seems to have been lost in unrelenting ferocity, it ought not to be overlooked that the wrongs which occasioned it were many and grievous, and that every remonstrance in miti-

gation of them had proved unavailing. Unfortunately, too, for the honour of human nature, the revengeful conduct of the Peruvians on this occasion is only in accordance with that of other nations when roused to vindicate their rights and shake off the yoke of slavery. Such events are practical illustrations of the remark which has been somewhere aptly made, that tyrants live in the blood of others, but usually die in their own.

Success characterizes measures, and the revolt of a nation, according to the event, becomes either a glorious revolution or an ignominious rebellion. The brave and desperate struggle of the Peruvian Indians has been stigmatized with the latter appellation, although it was so far successful as to cause the abolition of the '*repartimiento*,' and beyond a doubt had also considerable effect in preparing the minds of this people for those more recent events, in which they co-operated with indefatigable perseverance, until they freed themselves for ever from the abominable abuses of Spanish domination.

CHAPTER VI.

Departure from La Paz.—Personal alarm and momentary despair.—Confidence and consolation.—'The very best thing in the world' is in some cases 'the very worst.'—Kindness of manner frequently of more avail than a full purse.—Return to Potosi.—Downfall of the Association.—Cheerless society.—Extracts of letters.

October 5th, left La Paz for Potosi, and in the evening bore the pelting of a tremendous hail-storm, which, in spite of all sneers at a similar adventure of Baron Munchausen's, positively pursued closely for several miles before it overtook me. It came down with a force that raised the dust along the whole extent of the plain, so as to give it an appearance of the sea when rolling in with fury upon a beach; and on my looking occasionally behind, it conveyed, with no very pleasing sensations, an idea

of those waves of moving sand, in which whole caravans have been overwhelmed in the deserts of Africa.

7th. Unpleasant weather with snow and sleet. When about four leagues from the post where I intended to take up my quarters for the night, I was suddenly seized with an illness, accompanied by violent pain, which rendered me utterly unable to endure the movement of my horse, and compelled me to alight and stretch myself on the road-side, where I lay full five hours in agony, and with symptoms that led me to suppose I must have burst a blood-vessel or ruptured an artery. I confess that I felt a sense of alarm to which I was not accustomed, and even detected myself with downcast head and folded arms, yielding in dejection to the gloomy dictates of that desponding matron Melancholy, 'Goddess of the tearful eye,'—but neither my sorrow, my apprehension, nor my care, was of long duration. In the serious events of life, there are few cases in which the mind may not summon to its aid sentiments of a tendency, not only to soften the severest ills and to banish gloom from the darkest cavern of despair, but to inspire a confidence which the world cannot shake.

"Omnipotent Power!
'Tis thine to lull the agonizing hour,
To charm the burden from the soul, and give
The tears that solace and the hopes that live."

In giving to the world a journal of the ordinary occurrences of life, it is difficult to exclude all those which are of a merely personal nature, and as such, frequently have little or no interest for the general reader; but, to suppress the subjects of our serious thoughts, merely from a feeling of false shame, would, I conceive, be a tacit admission, that our apprehension of the opinions of men was stronger than our reverence for Him, in whom "we live, and move, and have our being." It is an acknowledged truth, that our present and eternal interests are so inseparable, that one can hardly be treated of without allusion to the other; in the intervals, therefore, of the busiest worldly occupations, momentous reflections will interpose. Life is but a web of "mingled yarn, good and ill together,"—a succession of contrary events from grave to gay, and he who records them must of necessity present similar incongruities in his pages. Be this, then, my excuse, if excuse be requisite, for occasionally turning the thought

"From vain and vile, to solid and sublime!"

Had I been in the midst of a congregation

of thousands, under the dome of Saint Paul's, listening with due attention to the soul-inspiring notes of the anthem, the scene, with all its imposing attributes, could not have surpassed in solemnity, or more effectually impressed the mind with devotional feelings, than that in which, on the present occasion, I found myself placed. The dreary solitude of a desert, in pain and sickness, remote from every relief, deprived of the companionship of friend or stranger, was assuredly a situation in which even the severe "who blush at what is right,"—"they who profess to know God, but in works deny him," will scarcely consider it artificial piety, or the mere momentary effusion of a mind alarmed, if a man casually though openly, avows that, in the absence of all earthly aid, he availed himself of the only consolation he had left, that of seeking in the balsamic truths and healing sentiments of Religion the mitigation of his pain and the solace of his cares—that he reposed with confidence on the "rod and staff," with which man may safely "walk through the valley of the shadow of death and fear no evil."

'*Vamos, patron mio, poco à poco hasta la posta, animese vd. que Dios le aliviará;*' were the mild encouraging expressions of my peones, as I writhed in agony on the ground; and, at a favourable

moment assisting me on horseback, we proceeded at a very slow pace, stopping at short distances, but ultimately arrrived about midnight at the post of Aio-aio. There, in the corner of a naked hut, my peones soon made me a luxurious bed of sheepskins, and kindling a fire in the middle of the floor, prepared from a shoulder of llama an excellent broth, which they seasoned highly with *aji* (capsicum), as being " the very best thing in the world I could take for *el pujo de sangre*;"* but it was probably the very worst, and I can aver that I felt myself nothing the better for their prescription, which, however, was most conscientiously recommended, and submissively followed from necessity by me. *No hai cosa mejor que aji, creale vd.* (there 's nothing better than red pepper, you may depend upon that,) was the consolation I received at every spoonful that was occasionally thrown into the broth as it bubbled on the fire.

6th. The morning commenced with heavy rain; but the state of debility to which I found myself reduced, deprived me of courage to encounter it, and I am inclined to think, that the quiet in which I passed the early part of this day enabled me to perform my journey to Potosi

* Hæmaturia.

without any thing particular to complain of; for it would be absurd to complain of that which had no remedy, and which I was satisfied was the very best the country afforded, I mean accommodation. To this, scanty as it is, we become reconciled, when we know that, on the other hand, the poor people among whom we find ourselves in defenceless solitude are the most harmless beings upon earth, in whose doorless huts we may lay ourselves down to sleep, with a confidence that bolts and bars do not elsewhere always insure; from whom also the slightest condescension, or any trifling act of kindness, will generally obtain all that is within their little power to give.

On the present occasion, when I have arrived weary and faint at a Peruvian hut, with what pure feelings of gratitude have I made my acknowledgments to the family, who from sheer benevolence have ceded to me the only little store they possessed, or when one of them, with the rapidity of a deer, has gone sometimes a league distant among the mountains, in pursuit of their goats, and procured me a little milk! Often have I alighted from my horse at an unseasonable hour and asked for milk, offering dollars; the answer invariably was, "*No hai! no hai, Señor!*" They would not take the

trouble of getting it for money. But, when I added, "*Estoi muy enfermo hermanos mios; hagame, V, el favor, y Dios lo pagará à Vds.*"—(I am very unwell, my brothers; do me the favour, and God will repay you):—my feeble voice, pale cheek, and sunken eye, bearing testimony to the truth of what I said, the sire of the family, or the matron, twisting her ball of thread from the silken wool of the vicuña, would then mutter something in Quichua, when instantly, an *olla* (earthenware pipkin) would be seized by one of the younger members, who would glide away in pursuit of the flock without a question as to payment. And this is savage hospitality!—Could I expect more among the most polished people of the earth?—Should I always have obtained as much?

The youth has now returned, and, quite breathless from his haste, delivers the *olla* into my own hands, then retires among his fellows without even expectation of reward. Upon examining the *olla*, I find remains of the last meal sticking to the sides, boiled maize, or potatoes, or particles of llama broth,—'tis no matter, the milk is delicious! and I am more than thankful.

M. de la Condamine, in his description of the Indians of South America, could not have

alluded to the Peruvians, when he remarked, that insensibility among these people is generally prevalent, which, whether to be dignified by the name of apathy, or sunk into that of stupidity, he leaves to the decision of others. "Undoubtedly," continues he, "it is caused by a paucity of ideas which extend no farther than their wants." M. de la Condamine was no slight observer of things; but I cannot think, nor is it probable, that he included the Peruvian Indians in this censure; because all that we know of them, from the remotest period of their history, conveys a very different opinion of those people; and, at the present day, whoever has been among them, must admit that, in their willingness to work as well as in the performance of it, the imputation of apathy or stupidity does not apply to them. Proofs of their industry meet the eye in every valley, and the supplies of every market depend upon their labour. I believe I am not singular in the opinion, that their worst qualities have been *imported*, and that their virtues are their own, not derived from those who for centuries have been blind to their merits, and cared so little about turning them to a better account.

The Peruvian Indians notoriously possess a

peaceable, unoffending spirit, free from even an *accusation* of those great moral crimes, the daily commission of which is not prevented by rigorous laws and penalties of the utmost severity among nations renowned for civilization, and boasting of their superiority, moral and intellectual, above all the nations of the world. We have indeed seen, from the sketch I have given of the rebellion of 1781, that, when roused to vengeance, they are, like other people, capable of committing every excess. But is the moment of excitement the period in which we should judge of the character of man? The causes of that excitement it has been already shown, proceeded from an insufferable yoke of servitude and despotism, against which every remonstrance had proved ineffectual. And lastly, although that event was a rebellion, and failed in its object, yet, if it had succeeded, it would, beyond a doubt, have been recorded among the glorious events of nations.

Never did any man, from personal observation, so mistake the character of a whole people, as the author of "Travels in Chile and La Plata."—"With these people," he says, "is exemplified what will universally be met with over South America, that to confer a favour is to purchase an enemy." Was ever so un-

charitable a sentiment uttered by a good, kind-hearted man? I appeal to the bitterest enemy of South Americans to testify its utter injustice. Again, that author observes, "they are governed by no moral feelings, but will submit to a haughty, overbearing tyranny, no matter by whom practised." I will not enter into a defence of their morality, which, upon the whole, would probably be found not less pure than that of other nations who have example, precept, and education, to instruct them in their moral duties, whilst here are none of these. But, experience enables me stoutly to deny the concluding accusation, for I have seen, and, on more occasions than one, have myself practised those threats, as silly as they are vain, which hasty persons too often deal in, and none more than *Milor Anglois*, under the mistaken idea of obtaining immediate compliance with their wishes. I have seen, and I have occasionally practised, to my cost and disappointment, a haughty, overbearing manner to postmasters, tradesmen, peones, and other persons in this country, and in no single instance was the object gained by such unbecoming and futile acts of impatience. I have seen offered, and I have myself offered, on those occasions, large sums, to show that

I was willing to pay for what I required; but no bribe could obtain it, or induce them to make the slightest exertion in my behalf, after they had been offended and brow-beaten; and it must be acknowledged that, if they submit to this "haughty overbearing tyranny," it is not because they want either the power or the opportunity of resenting it, for travellers are in all cases completely at the mercy of the natives. Upon the whole, I think it will be found by every impartial person, that if they have no great virtues to recommend them, neither have they any great vices to cause them to be shunned or abhorred; and we should do well to remember that there is always a greater readiness to expose what is faulty, than to acknowledge what is good.

Potosi, October 12. Here have I arrived early on the eighth day, after a journey of nearly 350 miles with my own horses—good going—but which I am induced to mention, because I have performed an exploit under circumstances, which I have been given to understand, prove fatal in most cases in this country to the strongest constitution, particularly when rest and quiet cannot be obtained. I may therefore be permitted, in terms of deeper

import than mere worldly compliment, to congratulate myself on having arrived at home, safe and well—so well that, in the opinion of some perhaps, I ought to blot out all the story of my misfortune, in order to avoid a jeering condemnation for having mentioned in a tone of gravity a merely personal incident, which half the world would have regarded as altogether trivial, and no more have thought of, when once it had passed. I too may have thought but slightly of it, *when once it had passed*, because, transient as the morning dew is the impression which dangers, mercies and deliverances, make upon the hearts of men. Half the world also, may possibly not recollect, that the trivial events of every day, of every passing hour, may determine the state in this world, or remove us beyond it; and that in them, patience and self-government are as requisite, and can be as forcibly displayed as in those of greater importance. He who possesses a mind capable of bearing unruffled the minor molestations of life, can also bear with composure its heavier afflictions, and he who is thus armed, let the darts of adverse fortune be discharged upon him when and whence they may, will undauntedly oppose them, or calmly endure their assaults undismayed.

I found upon my table letters from far and near; some containing offers for the sale of mines, some for working them on terms of mutual accommodation; others containing proposals for supplying timber, fuel, and forage, for our far-famed establishment; the permanency of which seemed ensured to the natives by the arrival of the largest and most valuable cargo that ever entered the port of Arica. To these letters I replied in terms of courtesy, concealing, as man is ever wont to do, the reverses which have suddenly hurled him from proud prosperity into humiliation and distress, for I now had authentic information, that such was our fate, as the following extract of a letter from our chief engineer will clearly testify.

"I am too much agitated with the events of the last few days, to give you any thing like a circumstantial account of what has passed.

"Three of our Directors have sent a power of attorney to take possession of the cargo of the Potosi, to pay certain claims; this power was sent by a special messenger from Buenos Ayres to Valparaiso, and arrived here about a week ago, when the whole of the cargo was attached, and, although I protested against it, the order was made absolute. The *Intendente*, indeed I may say all the Authorities here, are inclined to do every thing in their power to favour us; but there was no possibility of doing any thing on my mere *ipse dixit* against such apparently regular papers as were presented.

" Upon seeing the authorities under which this act took place, I was quite thunderstruck ; but, by a little manœuvre, I managed to sell the whole of the quicksilver, in order to enable me to support the people here."

Upon reading the foregoing I felt precisely what the writer mentions with respect to himself—" I was quite thunderstruck !"

From Lima I received a letter from our chief commissioner, mentioning his intended departure in a few days from that place, and stating, what was no cause of surprise to me, that, " his voyage to Lima had been completely fruitless. I now see," said he, " that the Minister of Finance of this government is only trifling with me, and it were folly to remain here idle."

It was folly, in my opinion, to go at all ; and I maintained, from the commencement, the unreasonableness of the expectation of obtaining a reduction of duties from a government that was neither to receive return for the favour, nor was in any way connected with our speculation. Under the existing state of things, the government, the laws, the duties and customs of Lower Peru, have no more to do with those of Upper Peru, where our establishment was to have been fixed, than the laws and customs of the port of Constantinople

have to do with those of Petersburgh; and I am inclined to think, that the Reis-Effendi, or the Kisslar Agar, would not long "trifle" with any stranger who should require the favour of landing a whole cargo, and of driving three thousand mules laden with goods through the Ottoman dominions "duty free," into the State of a jealous, envious, and envied neighbour, who alone was to derive all the benefit from the importation.

November 1st. There is not probably in the world a town of such extent, and possessing so many inhabitants as Potosi, where there is so little society, and where there are no means of amusement, beyond the resources that persons may possess within themselves. Society is confined, literally, to two or three families of two or three persons, to whose houses we sometimes go for half an hour in an evening to sip *maté* through a tube, to hear a guitar gingled, or to sit on a bench against a wall, wrapped to the chin in our cloaks, replying "*Si, Señor,*" to every body's tale concerning the severity of the cold winds from the south. The ladies, squatting on a rug upon the floor, huddled in a corner, and covered up in their woollen mantles, occasionally press us to take another *maté*, but complete

the scene of *ennui*, by their total want of occupation, than which nothing can be more unsightly and repugnant to those who have been accustomed to female society in England; where, from the nursery to the age of spectacles, the needle is actively plied, even until its eye has become undistinguishable to the eyes of the person who employs it, and who may frequently be seen fencing at it in vain with the sharpest-pointed thread, until a grandchild, or some accommodating friend, when all hopes of success have failed, kindly undertakes to hit the mark, and thus furnishes the means of pursuing this habitual pastime, infinitely preferred by English ladies to that state which has already been described as a *délicieux repos*.

With respect to the male society, where men have congregated in a place for one single pursuit, one only object, and where that occupies them from morning till night, it can easily be imagined that neither their conversation nor their thoughts are often turned from the main point. I am inclined to think, from the samples with which I have had the pleasure of being in contact, that in the mining districts of Cornwall, we shall hear nothing in the course of conversation in a long summer's day with

any of the gentry there employed, that would leave us room to doubt their daily occupation, or to suppose that, in their opinion, there was any other business in the world than mining. So in Potosi; go where you will, turn where you may, nothing is to be heard but the proceedings of the Ingenios, the good or bad run of a recently-discovered vein, the superiority of a certain mine; which latter, by the by, I have generally observed, ranks in the estimation of the proprietor in the same degree as a horse is invariably known to do with us: due praise is bestowed upon the merits of our neighbour's, but when we come absolutely to the point of superiority, why, then we are, in justice, bound to assert, that our own has it hollow; in short, there can't be a better horse: in short, there can't be a better mine. Should any person present have sufficient hardihood to doubt the eulogium, and ask why did not this best horse in the world beat such a horse at such a race? or why did he balk at such a leap in such a hunt? it was because he was badly ridden at the first, and because he accidentally fell coming full tilt at the last. So with a mine; when the proprietor is asked why he did not avail himself of the treasures which he avers that it pos-

sesses, the answer is, 'It accidentally fell in,' or, 'just as he came to the solid silver, and was about to cut it out of the rock with chisels, the waters rushed up from below, and obliged him to abandon it.'* In short, we hear very good causes of failure assigned in both cases, but the world, being in these matters addicted to incredulity, will not at all times place implicit faith in those reports.

Now, although it is well known that mining for the precious metals has strong and seductive allurements to those engaged in the pursuit, yet to those who, like ourselves, have been compelled to abandon it, by mismanagement, insolvency, or any other cause, and who have no longer any concern in its proceedings, the living among mines and miners is as uninteresting a life as can well be imagined; and in that case the city of Potosi, affording no sort of re-

* I have repeatedly heard, from those whom I had no reason to doubt, of water rushing into a mine just as its richest vein had been discovered; and I have also been given to understand, that in most mining districts, the richest properties of a silver mine are *below* the water; which in this country, where no machinery has hitherto been used, has in many instances compelled the abandonment of the works at their most promising period.

creation, may be considered as an abode of banishment, little preferable to the utmost confines of Siberia.

In addition to the chagrin arising from our disappointment, my companions and myself had long been held in a painful state of suspense respecting the fate of our chief commissioner, of whom it had been reported, on every ground of probability, that the ship in which he sailed from Lima had foundered at sea. It was known that she was in a leaky state, and one or two vessels, which did not sail till several days afterwards upon the same voyage, had long since arrived at Arica, without having seen or heard any thing of the former, nor was it until this day that we had a contradiction of the report, when the courier from Cusco brought me the following letter from the General.

"*Ocoña, 29th September.*

"I embrace the opportunity to tell you, that after twenty-seven days of horrible navigation from Lima, I arrived in great distress at Pisco, where I took mules, and, traversing this dreadful desert, I have arrived here, and start immediately to Arica, from whence I will write. Yours truly,

"J. Paroissien."

The precipitate downfal of the Potosi As-

sociation, and the embarrassment and misery into which every person connected with it in this country was unexpectedly thrown, will be seen in the following letter, addressed to the Directors by our chief commissioner, on his arrival at Arica from Lima.

"In agony of mind little short of madness, I sit down to give you an idea of the state in which I find the affairs of the Company upon my arrival here, owing to three of our Directors having embargoed the whole of the cargo of our ship; an embargo has also been laid on the mules that had been more than two months waiting to take that cargo to Potosi. In this state of things, our people starving, and myself and companions without a dollar to purchase even bread, with ruin and destruction appearing on every side, I petitioned the Government to allow me to sell part of the cargo to supply our most urgent wants. The result of this representation, I much fear, from the tedious mode of law proceedings in this country, I shall not know for some days;* whilst, in the mean time, I have not a dollar to pay

* We must not, in our impatience, suppose that the tardiness of justice is confined to South America. To say nothing of the intricacies and technicalities of law in our own England, we must have often heard the complaint, that in our ultra-marine possessions, and where our system of government is best administered, "the execution of the law is in so imperfect a state, that no civil suit of any consequence can be brought to an issue in the courts of first instance under three *years*, or in the appellate courts under three to six years."

my expenses, and clamorous creditors from every quarter, among whom most of the people sent out by the establishment are very prominent, assail me continually. Messrs. Begg, Atherton, and Co. of this place, to whom I consigned the cargo, and to whose zealous exertions I am much indebted, landed and sold a small part thereof, previous to the embargo, but those funds have been exhausted in maintaining this extensive establishment. It were in vain attempting to give a true picture of all the difficulties which surround me; it is entirely impossible the concern can continue. The cargo, if sold by auction, though extremely valuable to us had we applied it to its original purpose, will not, I am persuaded, under the present circumstances, fetch half the prime cost, and many articles of it will be a total loss; for, besides being little better than rubbish, in comparing our invoices with those of a similar nature consigned to a merchant here, I find a difference against us of at least thirty per cent.

"I trust you will not lose any time in sending me means of subsistence for myself and the few of your servants who must necessarily remain with me, or, if you resolve upon our returning to England, enable us by a remittance to do so.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"J. Paroissien."

In a subsequent letter to the Directors, our chief commissioner thus writes:—

"An agent of Don Felix Castro has arrived here, to claim forty thousand dollars for disbursements, damages, and difference of exchange, &c. on the bill for £12,000, which I drew from Buenos Ayres. It is the intention of this agent to lay a re-embargo on the whole of the property belonging

to the Association; so that, although I should succeed in the first instance, and have the cargo restored, I must ultimately yield to Castro. The consequence will be a total loss of all the property here, and unfortunately this is not the only demand against us. The parties to whom I sold the mules of the Association, under a special contract that they should have the conveyance of our cargo to Potosi, now claim half the freight, in consequence of my inability to fulfil that contract; and by the laws of the country they have a right to the claim."

The following is a translation of the sentence pronounced by the judge at Arica, in the case of the embargo.

"According to documents sworn and approved, I declare that there appears no cause for the execution on the cargo of the ship Potosi, because it belongs to the mining society established in London, and it has not been proved that the three charterers had power and authority to make it over to their agent on account of freight, as application ought to be made in London for the full payment of the freight, where the claim has to be examined, according to a contract which appears to have been acknowledged by the Association, and could not be revoked nor altered by the three partners without special authority to that effect from the said Association, which does not appear to have been given by any of the documents presented. Therefore, deliver up the whole of the cargo to the consignee and legal representative of the Association, together with costs, in which I condemn the plaintiffs."

The costs, I believe, have never been repaid, but the cargo thus snatched from the hands of the agent of the charterers, fell instantly into those of the agent of Castro; and of that same cargo, which cost the Association, freight included, at least thirty thousand pounds, not so much as a *twopenny tack* was applied to the object for which it was purchased; nor was any part of it ever in the possession of any individual belonging to the society at Potosi, and I am still ignorant of the particulars of its sale and dispersion.

The introduction of numerous extracts from letters and documents concerning the proceedings of the Potosi Mining Association, must no doubt prove altogether uninteresting to many of my readers; but I trust it will be remembered that there are also many who have been deeply interested in those proceedings, and expect to be informed of the causes of their failure. I moreover consider it an act of duty to the proprietors, and of justice to myself, to give, in addition to my own observations, such extracts from the general correspondence as may tend to elucidate the subject, and which I also consider to be the mode least likely to

excite doubt as to the correctness and impartiality of my statements. I therefore feel assured, that I may continue to introduce them without offending my 'numerous' readers, particularly as I promise to do so only when I have nothing better to present them.

November 19. Mr. Garda has this day returned from Arica, where there was no longer any employment for him, and where he left the members of our establishment in a state of distress truly deplorable. On landing at Arica, each individual received for his support nine dollars per week, which was soon after reduced to seven, then to five, then to three, and latterly to—nothing at all. Wearing apparel, watches, rings, and sundry other articles, were hawked about the streets of Arica and Tacna by the necessitous owners, who, but a few weeks before, having landed in high health and spirits, and full of hope as to their future fortune, imagined themselves on the high road to riches, and expected rather to add to their little store of luxuries, than to be reduced to sell them at any price for the purpose of obtaining a bit of bread.

Great as the perplexities really were into

which we found ourselves so unexpectedly thrown, they were not a little increased by a dispatch received at this period from the Directors; the nature of it was such that not one of us, nor all of us put together, had sagacity to discover the real object or intentions of the Board at the time it was written, or what it was they expected us, their humble servants, to perform. Their dispatch commenced in unqualified terms of approbation of our first proceedings; then expressed their assurance of our being able to obtain mines with facility in Peru, but at the same time they sent us a list of no less than nineteen of their own choosing in London, situated, too, in a far distant province, although, in a previous dispatch, they had given positive injunctions that we were to confine ourselves strictly to Potosi. The tendency of their letter, and the impression it conveyed while I perused it, was such, that before I read it half through my heart palpitated with joy, in the full conviction that all differences had been settled at home, and that funds in abundance were at last forthcoming. But, after giving us their nineteen mines, with orders to hire scientific persons to amalgamate the ores, and to appoint an additional agent at

Potosi, my confusion and dejection were sad, sudden, and distressing, when I read in plain terms that I must not expect one shilling of money! With nineteen new mines of silver, what more could we want?—out of them we were at liberty to help ourselves. However, as I feel myself in that state of irritability, in which persons too often suffer themselves to be carried away by their own feelings without any regard to those of others, I will endeavour to hold my peace for a moment, just to give the Board of Directors an opportunity of speaking for themselves.

"1, *Great Winchester Street,*
20th July, 1826.

"We beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your different letters of 30th January, 22d February, and 2d March; the former was answered by the Secretary, the dissolution of Parliament having made it difficult to obtain a Board of Directors, previous to the sailing of the packet.

"The Directors are *much satisfied* with the zeal and activity Mr. Garda has shown in carrying their instructions into effect, and they expect that his report from La Paz will give satisfactory details respecting the mines of that province. There is no doubt but mines may easily be obtained in South America.

"The Directors recommend you to take steps to obtain a person in the capacity of chymist or assayer, in lieu of M.

Feneon, with whom they have not thought fit to enter into any farther arrangements.

"The Directors transmit herewith a statement of nineteen mines, situate near Sicasica, belonging to Don Juan Francisco Leon de la Barra, which mines have been offered to the Association; you will therefore communicate with parties in Peru upon the subject of them, and report the result to the Directors, should you consider it necessary.

"The Directors trust that the communications by the December packet, which stated in strong terms the difficulties which had arisen, and were likely to increase, in obtaining the deposits upon shares held in South American Mining Associations, will have prevented your purchasing any mines, or entering into contracts, which would require any advance of capital, which you must not, *under any consideration, expect to receive* from this country at present.

"It appears that the miners engaged by the Directors from Cornwall have conducted themselves with great impropriety, and they recommend to you, in addition to the other reductions in the establishment, to discharge these men; as their disposition to drinking and riot will more than counterbalance any advantage which can arise from their services in a country like South America.

"The Directors have received a letter from the Miss Quintanas, of Potosi, stating the death of their father, and requesting that their cousin, Don Emanuel Vasquez de Velasco, might be appointed agent to the Association; to which the Directors have no objection, provided you are satisfied as to his abilities to undertake that office."

The foregoing letter was accompanied by one from our Home Secretary, inclosing, as a

boon for our services, a number of letters of recommendation, from I don't know whom in London, to the Lord knows whom in different parts of South America, together with high encomiums on the merits of Don Emanuel Vasques de Velasco, and also with splendid accounts of the weekly produce of mines in Potosi, which, it was supposed, we upon the spot were not likely to be so accurately acquainted with as persons in and about the Stock Exchange; therefore, those accounts were sent across the Atlantic to us, as a sort of information *secret and confidential.* The reception which they met with from us may probably be judged from the following extracts of a letter, which I had the honour of writing in reply. The tone may possibly not accord with that which it becomes a clerk to observe in addressing his employers; but if there are occasions in which a deviation from the customary forms of correspondence is pardonable, I trust it will be conceded that the present is one; and although it is very far from a proof either of judgment or reason, to let fly the shafts of raillery against those with whom we are at variance, yet, there are subjects undeserving of serious consideration, which may be fairly ex-

posed to derision, particularly when no bitterness of feeling prevails, and no wanton infringement of the rules of decorum is by any means intended.

"*Potosi, 2d December*, 1826.

"TO THE CHAIRMAN AND DIRECTORS, &c. &c.

"GENTLEMEN,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a packet from your Board, dated 20th July, containing, among several interesting enclosures, a list of nineteen mines near Sicasica, in the province of La Paz, which your Board seems to consider an acquisition of greater importance than we do, who have had an opportunity of acquiring some little knowledge concerning them. There are certainly some valuable mines in the district of Sicasica; but the best have one serious disadvantage attending them, which your Board has seemingly overlooked—the disadvantage of requiring *funds* to work them, before we can avail ourselves of their treasures. To say the truth, we feel a general disinclination to confide in the account which your Board has been pleased to transmit us of the mines in question, because we therein find that the poor, desolated village of Sicasica is represented as being 'very populous,' with 'an abundance of cattle and sheep,' and possessing 'incalculable advantages for mining.' We are assured that this is not a fair statement of facts, and indeed, if it be really the truth, I must henceforth place no reliance on personal inspection, for I have twice passed through that place, not without some little observation, and the notes I made are totally at variance with the report now given by your Board.

"I believe I may, with confidence, assure your Board that, situated as we are at present, the whole nineteen mines are not worth to *us* the value of nineteen shillings.

"Great as was our surprise at your Board's communication on these mines, it was infinitely increased by your appointment of a new agent for the conduct of your affairs at Potosi, in the distinguished person of Don Emanuel Vasques de Velasco, &c. I had concluded, from the previous communications of your Board, that we were by all possible means to *reduce* our establishment; and expected to find that Don Emanuel Vasques de Velasco, &c. was appointed to supersede some of us, your useless servants here; but, on the contrary, I find he is to be a happy addition of rank and talent to the Potosi, La Paz, and Peruvian Mining Association. I should be sorry to deprive Don Emanuel Vasques de Velasco, &c. of a single merit, for no doubt 'many a one has he,' though they may not be conspicuous to his friends or acquaintance, among the latter of whom I have the honour to account myself; and I can assure your Board, that I have no invidious motive in decrying the panegyric which your Board has been pleased to pronounce on Don Emanuel Vasques de Velasco, &c. as an agent. 'His high situation in the present government of Upper Peru.' Alas! poor man, he never has been, nor is ever likely to be, in any higher situation under the government of Upper Peru, than the upper story of his own dismantled house. 'His perfect knowledge of every thing connected with mining.' On this subject, I must confess, I cannot decidedly pronounce, because his talents in that department having *never* been tried, it would be premature in me to make any assertion touching the 'perfection' of his knowledge; but, if I may be permitted to judge from appearances, I do not think he is likely to have

any great field for displaying it in the future operations of this Association, so ably conducted by your Board.—' His great influence generally, at Potosi.' Worthy, poor Don Emanuel Vasques de Velasco, &c.! so ignorant is he of his influence or consequence in this world, that were I to inform him of his fame having reached London, I am convinced he would consider it a joke.

" The flattering letters of recommendation, which your Board have so considerately procured and forwarded to us, for different persons in this country, shall be duly delivered. As to Señor Don José Ramires de Loayza, to whose fostering protection your Board has kindly recommended us, supposing him to be Governor of La Paz, he is but an humble, though respectable citizen of that town, where he has opened a little shop, and I am sure your Board will be happy to hear is doing ' as well as can be expected.' The letter to the *Condesa* I lost no time in presenting, and had the honour of being received most graciously by the poor old lady, as she lay confined to her bed with a periodical attack of *fluxion*, accompanied by expectoration; but when her ladyship recovers, she will invite the whole Potosi establishment to take *maté*. We entertain no doubt of all the other letters proving equally advantageous to the interests of the Association.

" Your Secretary has furnished us with a very interesting extract from a letter, which a friend of his in London had received ' only by the very last mail from Potosi,' consequently, valuable from the lateness of the intelligence. We are informed, thereby, that a friend of the friend of your Secretary ' was working at Potosi, at the time the letter was written, a mine called *Portugaleté*, which produced him weekly upwards of two thousand marcs of silver.' We could have wished that this piece of news had encouraged your Board

to send us some little means to try the luck of our own mines, before we had been altogether overwhelmed by the disastrous act of three of our Directors. But as that matter rests exclusively with your Board, I shall confine my remarks to the letter before me, and beg leave to say, that if any jealousy has been excited by the weekly treasure said to be acquired by the friend of your Secretary, I can assure your Board that there is no foundation for it. Because, in the first place, there is no such mine among the thousands in and near Potosi as 'Portugaleté;' in the next place, the mines in full work here at this day, *all* put together, do not produce near the quantity of 'two thousand marcs of silver weekly;' not that they are incapable of doing so, but because the very limited capitals employed on them, confine the working to the acquisition of a mere subsistence, which is all that the ruined proprietors can at present aspire to.

"Your Secretary, or his friend, may possibly have mistaken for *a mine* in this cerro, the *mines* of Portugaleté, near Tupiza, one hundred and sixty miles from Potosi. Those valuable mines, the working of which has lately commenced, may possibly produce the stated quantity of silver; but I can also assure your Board with great confidence, that the proprietors, all South Americans, are not working *without funds*. I am acquainted with the principal manager, and know, that in carrying on his operations, he has found it expedient at different times, even at a heavy discount, to obtain money on his drafts, not one of which has been protested.

"I now beg leave to refer your Board to my letters so far back as 4th and 26th August last; in the former I mentioned that the success of this enterprise no longer depended upon us here; at present, less so than ever; being now, owing to acts proceeding from your Board, altogether deprived of every hope of prosecuting the original designs of this

Association, we are all unemployed, idle wanderers, thinking only upon the how and the when we are to be relieved from our unhappy situation. In my letter of the 26th, I plainly stated, that if a call would not, or could not be paid, the sooner the concern was closed the better, and every subsequent event corroborates that statement.

"For my own part, to whatever quarter the storm of life may blow, it will bear me a willing guest; but, as it is not to my taste to eat the bread of idleness, more particularly at the expense of others, I have no wish to wile away the three years of my contract, by concealing from your Board, that there is no longer any occasion here for the services of

"Your obedient humble Servant."

To the foregoing, the Directors replied, as I richly deserved, in rather caustic terms, denying my authority "to turn into ridicule any observations of theirs," and commanding that "in future my communications be confined to business entirely." "Business!" a pretty business they have made of it!

As I no longer dared trust to my own language, I might have used the more discreet phraseology of another,—no less a personage than a Lord Deputy of Ireland, who, exactly this time 250 years agone, was abandoned in that barbarous country by the English Government, and left in as necessitous a condition as I have been here; he too, "finding himself and his services crossed, and that dispatches,

and directions, and resources, came slowly out of England," complained to his employers of "his want of victuals, and other impediments;" in short, copying him, I might have replied—

"I troble your Lordships with often writing, and longe letters, whereunto I am the more enforced, because I have noe answers, or solutions from your Lordships, either to direct me in this service, or to satisfie me for your honourable allowances of me and my service. I am driven, as it were, to propound, and write agayn, and also to encounter malicious practices," (such as seizing cargoes of goods, &c.) "whereof, if your Lordships provide not a favorable redresse, to yield me more comfort than hitherto I have had, I must give all over as a discoraged man; and so craving pardon, if grief have carried me away in any thing overernestly, I take my humble leave."*

* Life of Sir John Perrot, Knight.

CHAPTER VII.

Negotiation of a loan.—Irritability of temper rudely evinced.—Unquestionable security for money lent.—Native iron.—"Nature hath framed strange fellows in her time."—True spirit of independence.—Festival of *el Nacimiento*.—Friar Alonzo Ovalle.—Proof of increase of revenue by a reduction of duties.—Meteorological observations.

DECEMBER 3rd. Time hangs heavily on my hands, I may therefore occupy a few minutes in recording a transaction which has been the means of affording substantial relief in a period of considerable embarrassment. A few months back, Don Mateo Lino and Don Pedro Castellano called on me, requesting a thousand dollars to send to Buenos Ayres, for which they "were willing to pay an interest of four per cent. so long as it remained in their hands." —"Four per cent!" said I, contemptuously; "Four per cent! you may go elsewhere and borrow money at four per cent. for a dollar of

mine you shall never have, I promise you *that*," and turned my back upon the gentlemen in rather an ungracious manner. "Cavallero," said one of them mildly, "we are not aware of having in any way offended by our application; pray let nothing more be said about the matter, and suffer us to part friends."—"Friends! pretty friends, indeed! to design to take my money at four per cent."—"We do assure you, Cavallero, that in our long course of business, this is the first time we ever offered so high an interest; we have always readily obtained money at two, two and a half, and never paid more than three per cent."—"What do you take me for?—but—no matter—I—I wish you good morning," said I, turning to walk away.—"Pray, Sir, don't suffer so trifling a subject to occasion so much irritation," said one of the gentlemen, laying his hand in a gently intreating manner on my arm. "Pooh! Pooh!" said I, withdrawing myself hastily from him, "do you imagine I am not aware that fifteen per cent. can be easily obtained on the best security?"—"*Quanto?*—how much?" said both gentlemen, startled and frowning with inquisitive amazement, as they repeated "*Quanto?*" To which, in a much louder tone than was by any means requisite, I replied—"Fifteen per cent.

I say, can be easily obtained."—"*Jesu Maria! Santa Maria purisima! quinze por ciento!*" exclaimed both gentlemen, making at the same time the sign of the cross, as is customary in surprise or astonishment.—"What! do you doubt me?" said I, and in starting up, overturned my chair, trod upon my dog—hang the dog—moved books, papers, pens, and ink, and jumbled them all together, as if life depended on the instant possession of the keys, which, in my hurry, I searched for (as is usual in such cases,) every where but where they were to be found. At length, pulling them from out of my pocket (for there they were of course,) I opened my portmanteau, and produced a document which proved beyond a doubt that I was in the receipt of fifteen per cent. for a sum of money that I had lodged with a respectable house in Buenos Ayres. The gentlemen took the document in their hands and perused it leisurely, then suddenly throwing it down, they exclaimed—"*Quinze por ciento! Si Señor*, this is indeed fifteen per cent. but it is fifteen per cent. *per annum!* We offer you treble that interest."—"Oh! ho! now I comprehend you, gentlemen, four per cent. per *month* is what you offer." Really I did not at first understand their proposition, nor did I know before, that

forty-eight per cent. per annum could be fairly and openly obtained for the loan of money.

"Pray is this customary?" said I.—"No, we never knew it to exceed three per cent.; the great scarcity of money has raised it to what it is; but two and a half per cent. has for some time past been the usual rate of interest in the *Calle del Comercio* of Potosi," which we may call the Royal Exchange, as there the merchants transact all their concerns. The cause of this high rate of interest is attributed to the large sums that have been extracted from Peru for Buenos Ayres, where the paper currency, recently resorted to, has raised gold and silver to a premium so excessively high as to encourage the importation of it by every possible means.

Situated as I was at the period of this application, the chief commissioner's draft protested, no pecuniary relief to be expected from England, and our public credit gone, I resolved to avail myself of an opportunity that seemed likely to avert that utter state of distress into which recent events had already thrown many belonging to our establishment, and which now threatened us all. Independently of some little personal credit that remained to me in Potosi, the document I produced to the gentlemen proved that I had a private fund in

Buenos Ayres, against which I said that I was willing to give a draft for 1000 dollars, and that "I should feel perfectly satisfied with what appeared to be the usual rate of interest, namely, two and a half per cent. per month, on condition that the money should be repaid on giving a month's notice, and that, in the mean time, security should be given for the principal."—"*Corriente*," said the gentlemen, who seemed pleased with the terms.—"*Vamonos*," said I, who was equally so, and immediately I drew my first, second, and third bill of exchange, expressing that it was to be paid in hard dollars and not in paper currency, whilst they drew and signed an acknowledgment to the following effect: "We have received the sum of one thousand dollars from *el Señor Secretario*, at the rate of two and a half per cent. per month, and promise to return the principal on a month's notice being given."

I looked at this document for some moments in silent surprise, and then said—"What sort of security do you call this?"—"That is quite sufficient; perfectly legal; the law requires no other," was the reply. "That may be, gentlemen, but it is not quite sufficient for me, and I beg to inform you that I require some better security for my principal than this scrap of

paper."—"Oh! *perdona usted*, that is merely as to the nature of our agreement; the *security* for your principal you shall have immediately." Don Pedro then put his head out of the door and called "Francisco! Come in here, Francisco!" when instantly a mulatto-slave entered the room, and throwing down from his shoulders a load which he had in a sack, Don Pedro said—"There, Sir, is your security."

"What the *diablo* kind of security is this?" said I, moving the bag, the contents of which rattled like theatre-thunder, when badly manufactured.—"That," said Don Pedro, "is the security usually given in this country, and I think you will find it ample."

Francisco being now ordered to empty the sack, he took it by the bottom and shook out every thing that was within it into the middle of the floor, and then proceeded to count the articles, which were set down in a list as follows:

Six silver dishes, value, in dollars	336
Eight silver plates	195
Eight forks and ten spoons	60
One *braserito*, for holding lighted charcoal for cigars	20
Three gold *maté* cups	145
Three gold *bombillos* (tubes for imbibing *maté*)	25
Nine silver spurs	60
Two silver drinking cups	30
One silver London watch	5
Carried over	876

Brought forward . . .	876
One ear-ring of fine pearls	50
Two chocolate pots and a wash-hand basin .	70
One utensil, of very common use and convenience	40
One painting of Saint Antonio, in a silver frame .	20
	1056

The foregoing articles were, according to custom, estimated at their intrinsic value, not at what they might have originally cost, so that this species of security for the principal of money lent is unquestionable; and, upon failure of the terms of the bond, the articles may be sold by public auction under a judge's warrant for the benefit of the lender. The only article that I thought over-valued was the London watch, which I refused to receive at more than one dollar, but I was obliged to yield to arbitration, on the ground that the nine spurs—from the accident of none of them being fellows, besides being of the make and shape of the time of Pizarro, and not suitable to the taste of the present century—were considerably undervalued: and indeed these objections were amply counterbalanced by their great weight of *plata pura*, pure silver. It was impossible for me to deny the weight of the argument, and therefore I received the London watch, which, with dishes, plates, pearls, forks, spoons,

spurs, gold *maté* cups, Saint Antonio, the silver utensil, *et cætera, et cætera,* was put back into the sack, and then thrown into a corner of the room, there to remain until the principal should be repaid, or in failure thereof, to be submitted to the hammer of the auctioneer.

I have heard, that in India it is not unusual to obtain an annual interest of 12 and 15 per cent. and upwards, on the loan of money, but in Peru and Buenos Ayres 25 per cent. may be seen quoted in their newspapers as the current rate of interest, and for short periods 3 or 4 per cent. *per month* is obtained without difficulty. The present Government of Bolivia have recently borrowed from a merchant in Potosi seventy thousand dollars, at 3 per cent. per month.

But to return to my security-sack. When all prospect of relief was cut off, and times became harder and harder, I gave the stipulated notice to Don Mateo and Don Pedro, that I required the payment of my principal. Several weeks passed away after the expiration of the period of that notice, but no notice was taken of it. I had the power, and, I must confess it, the inclination, of applying for the judge's warrant and proceeding to auction; but that is considered so ungracious an act, that few have re-

course to it, unless in the last stage of necessity. I was moreover on terms of acquaintance with Don Mateo and Don Pedro, who were both, to say the truth, very good fellows, but when beset with inconveniences, I have more than once felt extremely sorry that such was the case.

Whenever I chanced to meet them in the street, I was sure of being presented with a pinch of snuff by Don Mateo, or with the choicest cigar in the cigar-case of Don Pedro; my health was at the same time inquired after with a degree of anxiety that must have proved me a hard-hearted wretch not to have felt gratitude for the kind interest so warmly manifested by my friends. My rage for collecting minerals was well known to them, and ten to one that they had not a specimen of some sort in their pocket to present to me; if they had not, they were in daily expectation of receiving several of the finest quality: *pepitas de oro* (river gold), from Tipuani; *plata nativa* (native silver), from Aullagas; *piedras de oro* (gold in quartz), from Chayanta; *fierro nativo* (native iron), from Atacama, were all forthcoming. It must not be supposed that this was the artful conduct of knaves endeavouring to deceive; the security-sack is a sufficient proof that they could have

had no such intention. It was merely the best possible mode of apologizing for their want of punctuality; credit is not considered to be impaired by postponing for a little time the payment of a bill or the performance of a bond. Sometimes, indeed, this license is too freely taken, and the general practice of it proves, that regularity, or method, in business, is not yet established in this country. I believe, however, that these pecuniary transactions seldom terminate dishonourably; my own case, I am bound to say, did not, for this day I received my money and restored the sack.

As these pages contain a common-place collection of "all sorts o' things," I may avail myself here, as aptly as in any other place, of the opportunity of introducing a few remarks on native iron, which have been suggested by the casual mention of that found in the province of Atacama.

No subject connected with the natural history of the earth is considered so astonishing, or so difficult of explanation, as the origin &c. of the meteoric bodies, or aërolites, which are occasionally found on its surface; and although they resemble each other in many respects, they are essentially different from any other

minerals hitherto found. Their origin is yet unknown, but the principal conjectures on the subject are these.

1. Meteoric bodies, or aërolites, are formed in the atmosphere.

2. They are projected from terrestrial volcanoes.

3. They proceed from lunar volcanoes.

4. They are fragments detached from comets.*

Raw or native iron, comes under the above doubts, and is, I believe, considered the scarcest of all minerals; but, whether it is so or not, it is well known that the *existence* of raw, or native, iron had been doubted until little more than fifty years ago, when M. Pallas, of the Royal Society of Petersburg, in the year 1773, discovered a mass in the mountains of Siberia, a specimen of which was transmitted to the Royal Society of London by M. de Staehlin, Counsellor of State to her Imperial Majesty of Russia, "as a testimony of his attachment to the Royal Society, and as a just tribute he owed to that learned body."†

* Vide. Cleaveland, Philips, &c. from whose works on Mineralogy the foregoing is taken.

† Philos. Trans. Vol. lxiv.

Ten years afterwards, the Spanish Viceroy of La Plata gave orders to Don Michael Ruben de Celis, to proceed and examine a large mass of metal that had been discovered by the Indians in the province of Santiago del Estero. In February 1783, he proceeded accordingly, and found a mass of native iron, about fifteen tons weight, in the midst of an extensive plain, remote from all traces of habitation, and where there are no mountains, nor even the smallest stone within the circumference of a hundred leagues.* He succeeded in detaching from the mass a piece, weighing about thirty pounds, which was conveyed to Buenos Ayres, where a few years ago a pair of pistols were made from the iron, and presented by the government of that Republic to the President of the United States, in compliment for his having been the first to acknowledge the independence of South America. Don Ruben de Celis observes, that the whole mass must have been formerly "in a liquid state," and it is remarked by mineralogists, that the fusion of this and other masses of meteoric iron has been more complete than can be produced by the strongest heat of our best furnaces.

* Philos. Trans. Vol. lxxviii.

It is only within a very few years that native iron has been discovered in Atacama, a province of Upper Peru, lying on the Pacific, whence Mr. Parish, His Britannic Majesty's Consul at Buenos Ayres, received some specimens, with the following remarks, which he kindly gave to me. "The specimens were taken from a heap of the same nature, estimated at about three quintals, and near the mouth of a vein of solid iron (*barra,*) half a yard wide, situated at the foot of a mountain. The opposite plain is strewed with fragments of a similar kind, to the extent of some hundred yards. The Indian who brought these, calls them '*reventazones,*' supposing them to be produced by explosion. He had been charged to bring a piece of the vein itself, and some of the rock in which it is imbedded, but this, he says, he could not effect for want of tools: he therefore contented himself with picking up some pieces that were at the foot of the hill, where the mouth of the vein opens. If it be true that the metal is in a vein, as, from the probity of the Indian, who is well known, and also from general report, it is believed to be, it must be considered the first phenomenon of this nature that has been observed."

7th. What extraordinary mutations sometimes take place in the career of life!

"———By two-headed Janus!
Nature hath framed strange fellows in her time!"

and one of them has lately arrived at Potosi; a French gentleman, of ancient family, and highly connected, but, being a younger brother, and his father dying before he had provided for him, he found himself, as no doubt many other younger brothers have done, suddenly ejected from the luxuries and comforts of the paternal mansion with means very inadequate to his notions of expense. At a very early age he embarked on the ocean of life, the world all before him, and 'Providence his guide;' and after a few brisk gales and squalls, he obtained a commission in the military service of Napoleon, followed his victorious arms through Germany, and entered Spain a captain in the Life-guards of king Joseph. His regiment being ordered to Seville, he there commanded a detachment appointed to guard the palace, the cathedral, and other public buildings in that city; during this command, he was one day invited to a private dinner-party,

where the conversation was confined solely to the beauty of the pictures which hung neglected on the walls of the cathedral. He felt surprise at the conversation being directed particularly to himself, who had little knowledge of the merits of painting, and who had remarked nothing of any consequence in the cathedral, except the rich and massive plate that stood upon the altar. When dinner was over, and a bottle or two of genuine old Xeres had gone its round, "Come," said one of the party, "we are all friends here, and what passes is 'under the rose;' let us have pen, ink, and paper." These being obtained, three lines were written and thrown across the table to the captain of the Life-guards, who took up the paper, examined it, but could not read it; he did not understand one word of English, the language in which it was written. "*Qu'est ce que c'est que cela?*" said the captain, passing the paper to his neighbour. "That," replied one of the party, "is a check upon a banking-house in London for the sum of two thousand pounds sterling, your property, which you shall receive in hard dollars this night, if you will but withdraw the sentinel from the door of the cathedral for one hour." The object was then declared to be the "get-

ting possession of three or four celebrated paintings by Murillo."

The captain took up the paper a second time, and found that he could read it fluently. "*Celui qui sait mettre à profit l'occasion, c'est là l'habile homme,*" said the captain of the Life-guards, as he folded and unfolded the check, though rather in a dubious mood, still to the infinite delight of the party who had every confidence in this deep-laid plan for purchasing at a moderate rate a few gems of art, the value of which they well knew placed their speculation beyond all risk.

At the period of this occurrence, the French armies were everywhere triumphant, and the opinion firmly entertained by *them* was, that they had subdued Spain for ever, and added it to the dominions of Napoleon. This occasioned in the conduct of the French chiefs a degree of circumspection that was not so scrupulously observed at subsequent periods of the Peninsular war. At the first invasion of Spain, plunder was prohibited, and public property respected, on the responsibility of the commanding-officers, who knew that investigation would take place in cases of complaint or suspicion, and heavy penalties be inflicted upon those

who might be discovered to have violated their trust. In many instances it occurred, that fear alone dictated the observance of honesty; it certainly preserved the integrity of the captain of king Joseph's Life-guards, for he candidly assured me, that he has never ceased to regret having *declined* to remove his sentinel for so liberal a consideration as £2000 sterling. This regret, he observed, was rendered peculiarly poignant, from the circumstance of his vigilant and incorruptible conduct having in no way prevented the removal of the pictures. A division of the French army soon afterwards entered Seville, with Marshal Soult at its head, and those very pictures are now the greatest ornaments in the magnificent collection of Murillos, which adorns the splendid hotel of that distinguished chief at Paris, and for only four of which the sum of twenty thousand guineas has been offered and refused.

On the overthrow of Napoleon, the captain, among thousands of other captains, became a useless burthen to the state, and was quickly sent "to the right about;" then it was necessity, that mainspring of imagination, directed his thoughts towards some mode of acquiring an honest subsistence, different from

that of a soldier, whose trade had so suddenly declined and become utterly profitless: his services, however, had not passed unnoticed; he had had the gratification of winning from a host of competitors in the field of chivalry those honorary and honourable distinctions, which, as the guerdon of merit, are duly prized and laudably coveted by all deserving men.

Although it be true that the captain's refusal to withdraw the sentinel for an hour, is entered with regret in his worldly accounts as a dead loss of £2000 sterling, he nevertheless succeeded in conveying from Seville to Paris, several little articles of booty, some few volumes of ancient books, two or three highly illuminated manuscripts, a portfolio or two of valuable prints, for all of which he had a taste, and even something more than a smattering knowledge of, though self-acquired long after the usual period of youthful study had passed. His guardians, he said, at his parents' death, turned him with indifference to a country-school, where he had abundant opportunity of learning every thing but learning, and that being in those days quite to his taste, he was never known to have had a single literary dispute

either with schoolfellows or schoolmasters during the whole period of his scholarship. His grand ambition was to rival every boy in the school in those various games of skill and feats of activity which, on looking back a quarter of a century, he recollected with wonder, and upon examination of his joints and sinews in their less flexible state, he knew not how they could ever have had elasticity sufficient to perform them; or, how at one time he could have cut *entrechats*, *ailes de pigeons*, and sundry other difficult steps in dancing, to the admiration of the beholders. Here the French captain gave a specimen of what he could once perform in the "gavotte de Vestris," which appeared, I thought, awkward enough; but somehow or other it communicated to me a sort of Saint Vitus' impulse to exhibit a specimen of my own performance in that agile dance, and, without a consciousness of my own acts—for in truth imagination had taken us both by surprise and seduced us from the gravity becoming our standing in life, into the thoughtless buoyancy of by-gone youth—I found myself *vis-à-vis* the French gentleman, in the highest state of excitement, each of us exerting ourselves with

a true spirit of emulation as we tol—lol—lolled the tune of the gavotte to our own dancing.

The large saloon, without chairs or furniture of any kind, gave us ample scope for the utmost exertion of our limbs, which we fully proved we had not lost the use of: indeed they continued in motion when our voices could only falter a faint tol—la—hah—and long after we could not utter even a single "tol" for want of breath; the speedy failure of which we attributed, not to any unnecessary violence or bodily difficulty in our performance, but merely to the 'extreme rarity of the air' in these high regions. But, having now recovered my breath, I return to the continuation of the captain's career.

The knowledge of the Spanish language, which he had acquired in his Peninsular campaigns, induced him to direct his views towards a country, where the field of speculation, boundless as her native plains, presents a certainty of success to the exertions of enterprise, if founded on prudence and judiciously

conducted, but where the European stranger must refrain from exciting envy and jealousy, by boasting tauntingly of his superior acquirements and consequence. Rather let him abandon, if possible, his own prejudices, not indeed to give way to those of the natives, but to enable him to bear with them or to combat them with moderation, which will seldom be found ineffectual, if a certain affability of manner be observed towards all classes of society —a quality absolutely indispensable in those who hope to prosper and live happily in the country to which I allude, and whither, as certain as night succeeds day, British enterprise will sooner or later be steadily directed.*

The captain soon became weary of an inactive life in Paris, and sighed for employment of any kind; for, although he had been born

* "Many unforeseen difficulties may be found in a new country, and time, patience, and discretion, may be required to avoid and surmount them; but the most unskilful may be guided into the right path by temperate advice and judicious example. I would insist *much* on this point for the consideration of such persons as may go from England, because I have seen well-devised projects endangered by hasty and indiscreet measures which encouraged opposition and jealousy."—See Introduction to "Selections from the works of Baron Humboldt, with Notes," by John Taylor.

and reared in affluence, and was linked in a family chain of rank and wealth, he never considered it a degradation to work for his daily bread, albeit he sometimes found it unpalatable and bitter to the taste; but even so, he felt that it must be sweeter than honey to the drone. This feeling induced him not only never to seek, but actually to shun, even with contempt, that *ignis fatuus* of real misery—dependence upon others,—in the illusion of which he saw so many of his equals linger in heavy-hearted expectation, fed with promises that, even when fulfilled, always fell far short of the hopes which they excited. Often indeed, he said, he felt the energies of his mind restrained by the rude and chilling hand of necessity, and had sometimes to endure the sting of agonising pride, occasioned by those slights and sneers which the well-born, when in need, so commonly meet with; but as he bore no envy to the "silken sons of pleasure" who revelled in the sunshine of prosperity around him, he observed that, on those occasions, he always involuntarily drew his right hand across his brow to assuage 'the sharp convulsive pang,' and in a moment would his mind be restored to its wonted confidence and calm.

He tried many speculations, none of them very promising, except one, which—contradiction strange!—of all speculations, is frequently the most unpromising in the world—love. The captain, entitled by birth and connexion to live in that sphere which is called "the fashionable world," had, of course, not a few fashionable acquaintances among those who form by far the grand majority of "fashionable society," namely, the ladies. Being a well-bred man, and, as a Frenchman, naturally polite, possessing also a reasonable share of those qualities which form the *agrémens* of society, and having, with a natural vein of humour, the best of all humour, good-humour, he had the *entrée* into several fashionable houses in both town and country. In one of those houses, he never sowed a card that it did not produce a dinner, and at last he became, as do all amiable spaniels, a favourite with every one of the family, himself courteous and affable to all; but, naturally enough, he selected a mistress, to whom his attachment was more particular than to any of the others. This attachment went on, and on, and on, as attachments do, when a certain circumstance makes an honest man ashamed to go any further—the

circumstance of the lady's having *too much* money. The captain assured me that the independent fortune of the lady was actually the only objection, the only bar, to the consummation of his happiness. The high respectability of his family, his future prospects, his own prudence, went all for nothing, in the eyes of the parents, who adhered rigidly to the established rule of trade, that "every thing is worth what it will bring," and, as *thousands* are worth more than *hundreds*, it was no more than reasonable to expect that the daughter's fortune should bring its equivalent; that is to say, it was requisite that the captain should produce Napoleon for Napoleon, to add to that which was already amply sufficient for the desires of both, before he could call the prize his own; and—

"There's beggary in the love that can be reckoned,"

said I, interrupting the captain, to whose immediate history we once more return.

When South American speculations became the rage of the day, he turned his serious thoughts to that quarter of the world, which had now become the topic of conversation in every *café* in Paris. "*L'Amérique est si*

loin de nous! que nous importe ce que s'y passe? —tel étoit le langage il y a vingt ans. Aujourd'hui, l'Amérique ne s'est pas approchée de nous, cependant tout le monde en parle, s'en occupe, et raisonne même sur son état présent et futur."— "*Ma foi,*" said the captain, "*je m'en vais m'en occuper aussi.*" He forthwith applied to a friend, the proprietor of a distillery near Paris, and obtained permission to be initiated into the art of making brandy from corn; there he remained three months, working in every department with unwearied application, and, after having made himself master of the whole process, he engaged one of the principal workmen of the establishment to accompany him: laid out the greater part of his little capital, (which he had obtained in the mean time by selling brandy on commission,) in the purchase of materials for making boilers, caldrons, worms, pots, pans, and all the requisite apparatus for his undertaking; then embarked at Havre de Grace, and sailed for the Pacific, landed at Arica, crossed the Andes with his worldly all on a few mules, and is now about to establish his distillery, the first work of the kind in this country, and like every beginner of a new speculation, particularly when the plan is his own,

full of the most sanguine hopes, which are kept alive by the encouraging opinions he everywhere receives.

I was really pleased with the captain-distiller, to whom, from my very heart, I said—"*Je te fais mon compliment sur ton nouveau genre de vie;*" and there certainly is something peculiarly gratifying in seeing a man cheerfully working his way through the world with that resolute spirit of independence which no adversity can shake, and preserving throughout, even in the midst of privations which his birth in no way prepared him to expect, a mind unruffled by every care. Life is, to such a man, what Providence seems to have intended it to be—'industriously but placidly laborious.' When his exertions did not succeed to his wishes, or even when they altogether failed, the captain, so far from being dejected, turned them, again and again, to project after project. Hope, with promised joys, allured him on, and that hope blunting, as it ever does, the thorns of care, at the same time never suffered him to despond. Enjoying the blessing of health, and unincumbered with any of the weighty obligations of life, he felt that he should act ill the part allotted to him, if he suffered himself

to be subdued by the capricious malignities of fortune, which, after all, are as fleeting as her favours. He seemed aware, too, that imagination always magnifies difficulty, and that self-love increases every suffering; a simple reflection, but founded on the best principles of our instruction, and which, if oftener made, would prompt many a mind to patience and resignation under the evils and disappointments inseparable from life.

Christmas-day. For several weeks past, every artist and mechanic of tolerable ingenuity has been employed in making and repairing dolls, images, and figures of sundry kinds, also in setting up and painting altars in every respectable house; whilst all the females have been equally busy in preparing dresses for those dolls, making artificial flowers and embroideries, and embellishing the best apartment in their respective houses for the display of what is here termed *el Nacimiento* (the birth of Christ), for which every family of respectability makes preparation with a diligence, anxiety, interest, and fuss, scarcely to be exceeded by that which precedes a fancy-ball among our fashionables in England. The fanciful display of taste, the

splendour of the dresses, and the variety of costume, is as conspicuous in the one case as in the other. If we have all the metamorphoses of fairy tales and tales of Genii, all the heroes and heroines of history and romance, personified in the enchanting precincts of a fancy-ball for the purpose of mirth and pleasure, we have in the *Nacimientos* of Potosi, under the grave and solemn character of religion, and with the most decorous observance, a *fantoccini* display of the most distinguished event in sacred writ. We have the adoration of the shepherds, strictly represented with all their rustic attributes; we have the Magi and the kings in gorgeous apparel, accompanied by their respective trains, mounted upon elephants, camels, horses, and asses, bearing baskets of fruit and other presents, all journeying to Bethlehem to pay their homage to the infant Saviour of the world, whose sacred image is not here to be seen in a lowly manger, but in a cradle of pure silver, sometimes of pure gold, and the drapery covered with the most costly jewels. On either side of the cradle are images of the Virgin Mother and her husband Joseph, with crowns of gold upon their heads, and their robes profusely covered with diamonds, and

pearls, and precious stones. Over the cradle may be seen engraved on a plate of gold, "Glory to God on high!" and all round, suspended by means of delicate wires from the ceiling, are angels, cherubim, and seraphim, floating in the air, supposed to be rejoicing with 'song and choral symphony' at the tidings of peace and good-will to men. The apartment in which this highly-venerated exhibition takes place is strewed with artificial flowers, and arranged for the accommodation of visiters, who go in parties full dressed from house to house to view them, with every feeling of devotional obligation. However puerile these forms and ceremonies may appear to some of us, their object and intent is precisely the same as those of our own more rational and less ostentatious rites on the recurrence of this great festival, namely, to commemorate an event which is acknowledged and believed by all Christians to have happened for the eternal salvation of mankind. It is not fair, therefore, hastily to condemn them under those feelings of contempt which too frequently arise out of a difference of religious creed; because, with reference to the childish insignificance of those ceremonies, we can scarcely contend that

the most splendid processions, or religious assemblages, in cathedrals and churches, accompanied by all the pomp and magnificence that the art of man is capable of inventing, can, by so much as the importance of one grain of sand, obtain greater consideration in the sight of the Omnipotent Being, than the meanest of those exhibitions in the hut of the simple Indian. However exalted our ideas of human grandeur, we must admit its utter insignificance in the sight of Him who has heaven for his throne and the earth for his footstool.

For myself, I have always considered it incumbent on me to pay every exterior respect to the rules, forms, and ceremonies, of public worship, in whatever country I have dwelt, and studiously to avoid entering into those virulent disputes to which mankind are so peculiarly prone on subjects of religion. Whether with Jew, Turk, Greek, Indian, Catholic, or Idolater, and I have been among them all, I never imagined that I was abandoning my claim to the title of Christian, by outwardly paying respect to the rites of the prevailing religion. True Christianity, which dwelleth in the heart, cannot be affected by such an observance, and as I never was questioned on

the tenets of my faith, I never had zeal sufficient to lead me into argument on those of others; neither did I consider it just to condemn religious practices, in which I was permitted to join or not as I felt disposed.

In countries strictly Roman Catholic, some very ancient ceremonies still continue in full force, and it must be confessed, that the deductions to be drawn from a serious consideration of them are rather at variance with the march of intellect in the present day, and that the witnessing of them is quite incapable of exciting sentiments of devotion in the mind of a reasoning and unprejudiced person. A remark which a noble author has made with as much irreverence as frivolity on some of the Sacred writings, may perhaps be justly applied to certain ancient ceremonies of the Romish Church, namely, that "humour and diversion are resorted to as a proper means to promote religion and strengthen the established faith, so that it is impossible not to be moved by them in a pleasant manner:"* that is, it is impossible not to laugh at them; but then, we may keep our mirth to ourselves, when the expression of it is likely to give offence.

A friar named Alonzo Ovalle has written

* Shaftesbury's Characteristics.

"An Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Chile," which has been translated into English, and considered to be "a narrative of great instruction, as well as very entertaining." This is an additional inducement to me to convert his account "of the worship of God and the church ceremonies in the city of Saint Iago," into my account of the same in the city of Potosi.

I have seen it asserted in one of our popular periodicals, that it is of no consequence whence an author draws his materials; traditions, whether printed or oral, history and poetry, are legitimate sources. Every thing depends upon the manner. Now, I protest I do not know whether my "manner" on the present occasion is good or bad, in the use I make of my "materials;" but I have no hesitation in saying, that excepting a peculiar quaintness of style, so closely does Alonzo Ovalle's account of religious ceremonies in this country correspond with that which I myself had written in my journal from what I had actually seen, and at a time when I was far from the assistance of books, that at a subsequent period, on meeting with his work, and casually opening on the precise subject, I exclaimed — "My manuscript must have been purloined!" and thus I vowed ven-

geance. A base—to swell—reputation of—a ——pitiful—who, having no——of his own, presumed—pages with——quotations—but—as I live!—all the Reviewers!!! Enraged at the detection, I turned to the commencement of the volume, and found that it had been written by a Jesuit upwards of a hundred and fifty years before I had ever put pen to paper. It then struck me that the tables might be turned against myself, and that the suspicions so hastily excited in my mind against Alonzo Ovalle, in supposing that he had made free with my property, might now reasonably and very probably be excited in the minds of others as to my having unduly availed myself of his. I have, therefore, thought it safer and better to acknowledge that Father Alonzo's 'Historical Relation' of the church ceremonies in Chile, two hundred years ago, is here given as a true relation of what I have witnessed in Potosi at the present day.

"The hanging of the streets and erecting altars for repositories, are at the charge of the inhabitants where the procession passes; every body endeavouring to have theirs the *best*, by which means there are great variety of ornamental inventions and machines. The procession is attended by all the convents and all

the companies of trades, with their banners and flags, so that it reaches a great way. The Indians of the neighbourhood attend likewise with their banners: their numbers are so great, and the noise they make so loud, with their flutes and their hallooing and singing, that there is no hearing the church music, nor any means of understanding one another about the government of the procession.

"All feasts and holidays in the year are proportionably solemnized with the same decency by all the orders of friars, who all of them have some devout persons who help to bear the charges; but the nuns exceed all the rest in ornaments;—that which these angels"—Father Alonzo seems to have had a peculiar regard for nunneries, and evinced a degree of solicitude, attention, and concern, for their tender inmates, which after all

> "————is natural enough
> To any friar of urbanity,
> For holy men are made of as frail stuff
> As all the lighter sons of vanity."

But we have digressed—*reprenons notre rôle de diable*—"that which these angels of heaven do most shine in, can hardly be expressed as to the neatness, curiosity, and richness of their altars and church ornaments. What shall I say of

the smells, artificial flowers, fruits, chocolates, pastilles, and perfuming pots, which I have seen sometimes of so great size, that they struck me with admiration.

" Let us conclude this matter of religion and pious exercises, with saying something of the most remarkable practice of it in the holy week, by the stateliness of the processions at that time, which is such, that all strangers confess, that if they had not seen it, they should hardly have believed it."—True enough, but I shall here pass over the particulars of several scenes described by Father Alonzo, because I did not myself see them; such as—" the *Veronica*, kneeling down to the image of Christ, wiping its face, and then showing the people the representation of it remaining in the handkerchief; then comes St. John, showing the Virgin Mary that dolorous spectacle; then another representation of great piety, which is the parting of Christ and his mother, causing great passion and many tears." I shall also pass over the particulars of—" people whipping themselves, with divers sorts of penances, which every one performs according to his own devotion; these processions, which by excellence are called the bloody processions, are performed by night." A heretic

may perhaps imagine, that the obscurity of the night would occasion a deficiency of ardour and energy in those devotions, but Father Alonzo assures us, that "men are provided to attend these processions, to relieve the whippers, who often draw so much blood that they faint away," (poor wretches!) "Others, however, take care to cut off some of the spurs of the disciplines, for they use to have so many on that they almost kill themselves," (poor wretches!) "Nay, I have seen some of so indiscreet a zeal, they used buttons with points so sharp, that if they were let alone, it is a dispute whether they would not die before the end of the procession," (poor wretches!) "Of the bloody processions, that of the Indians has most whippers; all have music," (merry souls!) "The procession goes out very noble and gay, and in it are many lights, music, and dances, the streets being all adorned with triumphal arches, and hung with tapestries, &c. and while the first procession is in the cathedral, celebrating mass, and communicating the host, there comes another, which is a confrary of Indians, consisting of Indians of both sexes, who accompany the child Jesus dressed up after the Indian fashion, which causes great concern and devotion; they have

also many colours, ensigns, and other ornaments, very rich and gay. At the same time, two other processions of Indians likewise set out from the convents of Nuestra Señora de la Merced and Saint Domingo, all with a great apparatus of drums, trumpets, colours, hautboys, dances," (and the devil knows what besides,) " which make that morning appear very gay and merry. Thus do these new Christians, whose ancestors adored but the other day their idols, now acknowledge and kneel before the true God, sit with Him at his table, as grandees of his court, they, who not long before were slaves of the devil !"

It has been observed, and I think with reason, that a traveller is not to blame who, in seeking his way, allows himself to be guided by the torches of others whom he may happen to fall in with, although it is not fair to snatch the lights out of strangers' hands and appropriate them to himself. Really, I don't see how I could avoid snatching the light out of the hands of Father Ovalle, for, in giving a true representation of the religious ceremonies, it is impossible not to produce a resemblance to his ; and indeed a resemblance must always exist between the productions of two artists who paint the same

subject correctly, although one may be infinitely superior in point of execution. In the present case, I have made choice of the superior one.

30th. Accompanied a party to the top of the *cerro*, and experienced very sensibly the effects of my residence in this climate from the facility with which I was able to ascend, compared with others who had recently arrived. Among the latter, one gentleman in particular, suffered considerable pain in respiration, and at times actually gasped in agony for breath, which ultimately compelled him to leave the *cerro*.

Just as we were about to descend, a snow-storm, that had been gathering, suddenly burst over the mountain-top in a tremendous crash of thunder, which rolled round us in a circle and gradually descended to the plains below, where we beheld the unusual sight of a storm raging at our feet, whilst immediately above us the sky was serene and clear. The lightning darted with a whizzing noise round the base of the mountain, and every flash was followed by a deafening peal, as quickly as the report of a gun follows the ignition of the powder.

At the close of the year 1826, I made up

my accounts and forwarded them to the Directors, accompanied by a letter, from which the following are extracts.

"Although the cargo of the ship has escaped the fangs of the first who pounced upon it, it will all be swallowed up by Don Felix Castro and other claimants. We, your servants here, have no chance of support from it, — our only hope of succour is from England; we cannot expect much from the proceeds of the sale of ores, and some very few articles on hand, none of which will fetch half of what they cost us. Besides, when goods are sold for the mere purpose of obtaining means of subsistence, the owners must take what they can get, without any consideration of their value.

"The embargo has completely overthrown all the hopes of this Association. The effects of previous mismanagement might have been retrieved, but this last merciless act is altogether irremediable. Those of the Directors from whom it has proceeded may exult in their ill-advised, unfeeling combination, for it has, indeed, proved fatally successful. Strong, however, as our indignation is, at the discredit and disgrace into which we have been so unexpectedly thrown, there shall be no failure in our duty to your Board.

"I now inclose for your information an abstract of my accounts with the chief Commissioner, from the time he transferred to me the management of your concerns in Potosi down to the present date.

"I had express directions to advance freely for the purchase of timber, lime, charcoal, barley, and other articles, 'to the amount of ten thousand dollars,' under the idea that all would have been speedily required. Fortunately, I did not take an inconsiderate advantage of this authority, which enables me now to present my accounts without leaving, in any

business in which I was concerned, one single outstanding debt against the Association, and which, I confess, I mention with some degree of exultation, when I consider how suddenly I was deprived of every resource in the midst of very expensive operations, actively carrying on in confident expectation of the arrival of our large establishment, consequently I could not have anticipated that the objects of the Association were not to be carried into effect."

All my disbursements during eight months, including the clearing out and working of three mines, repairs of a great part of the amalgamation-works, high salaries to numerous individuals, expenses of about twelve hundred miles of different journeys, advances on contracts for timber, barley, and many *et cetera, et cetera,* amounted to 15,427 dollars, or £3,085 sterling, a sum sufficient to make every requisite *preparation* for carrying into effect, on a liberal scale, the object of any well-conducted mining establishment in Peru, and clearly proving that there is no necessity for such enormous capitals as we have seen subscribed for the purpose of mining in South America.

It appears from the books of the *Administrador* of the national bank of Potosi, that, in the year just ended, there has been purchased in his department 177,127 marcs of *plata piña,*

(silver in a pure state,) from the mines of this mountain, and those of the districts of Portugalette and Chayanta. The value, according to the London market, equals £350,000 sterling, which might be easily quadrupled with moderate capital, judgment, and skill; the above is derived from accumulated scrapings of many needy individuals, employing a few thousand dollars for the means of mere subsistence, beyond which they have not funds to work. This circumstance is alone sufficient to prove, not only that the mines here are not exhausted, but that, by a very partial working, they produce no inconsiderable sum.

The following abstract from the books of the custom-house of Potosi may be considered, on the subject of political economy, a fair example of the disadvantages of excessive duties to the revenue of a state, and of the improvement that follows when they are reduced to moderation.

In the year 1825, the duties on European goods were sixteen per cent. and the amount on those imported *viá* Buenos Ayres into Potosi was. . . . . 26,255 dollars.
On those imported from the ports of the Pacific . . 1,625

Total 27,880 dollars.

In the beginning of the year 1826, the duties were reduced one-half, that is to say, to eight per cent. when the amount on goods imported *viâ* Buenos Ayres, was . . 32,826 dollars.
On those imported from the ports of the Pacific . . 5,955

Total 38,781 dollars.

Thus the reduced duties gave an immediate increase of eleven thousand dollars to the revenue in the single town of Potosi. Those goods, French and English, but by far the greater proportion English manufactures, to which a decided preference is given, consisted chiefly of coloured cottons, calicoes, and muslins, cloths, crockery-ware, iron, and steel, all for the consumption of Potosi and the immediate neighbourhood. Small as the amount of duties may appear, I am of opinion that the consumption of goods here must be very considerable, for the quantity that has been poured into the markets for the last two or three years, is quite incredible. Every body became a shopkeeper, and every house had an apartment convenient to the street, filled with European goods, which might be purchased, at one period, literally as cheap as in the cheapest mar-

kets of Europe. The competition was so great among European merchants, in forcing their goods on these people, that but little profit could have been realized, and often none at all. The circumstance, however, may ultimately prove beneficial to the former, as the facility with which goods could be obtained by all classes of society has been the cause of the consumption of the whole, and has occasioned a taste for them, which is very likely to be permanent; and probably a little more prudence and circumspection will be observed in supplying them in future, so as to prevent a collision ruinous to the interests of the fair trader.

The following observations on the weather for six months, slight as they are, will no doubt give the general reader a tolerable idea of the climate of Potosi. They are given according to my own feelings as compared with the climate in England, for I had neither barometer nor thermometer to judge from. The number of days "fine," and "very fine," throughout each month, cannot fail to attract the notice of a European.

Abbreviations.— v. f. very fine; clo. cloudy; v. cl. very cloudy; var. variable; stor. stormy.

MAY 1826.

Days.	Fore-noon.	After-noon.	OBSERVATIONS.
1	fine	fine	Hot sun, cold in shade.
2	do.	do.	Fine pleasant weather.
3	do.	do.	Similar to finest March weather in England, but the sun infinitely hotter.
4	do.	do.	
5	v. f.	do.	
6	do.	do.	
7	do.	v. f.	Pleasant weather; at night frost.
8	do.	do.	do. do.
9	do.	do.	Morning and evening sharp keen air.
10	do.	do.	do. do.
11	do.	do.	Early part of night serene and mild.
12	do.	do.	Moon brilliant.
13	do.	do.	do. do.
14	do.	do.	do. do.
15	do.	do.	Mornings frosty.
16	do.	do.	Nights fine, though frosty.
17	do.	do.	do. do.
18	do.	do.	
19	do.	do.	
20	do.	do.	Morning and evening cold.
21	do.	do.	
22	do.	do.	Colder than hitherto.
23	do.	do.	
24	fine	fine	Cold wind from South.
25	v. f.	v. f.	Like fine April day in England.
26	fine	fine	Morning very cold.
27	do.	do.	Cold South wind.
28	do.	do.	Hot in sun, cold in shade.
29	do.	do.	Night milder than the day.
30	do.	do.	Fine March weather.
31	do.	do.	Night milder than the day.

The whole of this month appeared to me healthy, pleasant weather; but the natives complained of cold particulraly on windy days.

JUNE 1826.

Days.	Fore-noon.	After noon.	OBSERVATIONS.
1	v. f.	v. f.	Fine, clear, pleasant weather; hot in the sun.
2	do.	do.	Very hot in the sun, but the air keen.
3	do.	do.	The same, do.
4	do.	do.	Sharp frost in the shade.
5	do.	do.	The same.
6	do.	do.	The same.
7	do.	do.	The same.
8	do.	do.	Very hard frost at night and in the shade.
9	do.	do.	The same.
10	do.	do.	The same.
11	do.	do.	Frost, delightful day, night beautifully serene.
12	do.	do.	The same, night milder than the day.
13	do.	do.	The same, sun very hot.
14	do.	do.	The same, not a single cloud to be seen, the whole
15	do.	do.	canopy of heaven one bright azure blue.
16	do.	do.	The same, with a few delicately white clouds.
17	do.	do.	Nights serene, the moonlight beautifully brilliant.
18	do.	do.	The same, though very hard frost.
19	do.	do.	The same. In the forenoon sun extremely hot: in the afternoon large masses of white clouds singularly grand.
20	do.	clo.	In the afternoon very slight sleet showers.
21	do.	clo.	Pleasant weather; afternoon cloudy, with a little sleet.
22	do.	v. f.	Do. weather. Large white clouds, and some as if charged with snow.
23	do.	do.	Sharp frost, but very hot in the sun.
24	do.	do.	The same.
25	do.	do.	The same.
26	do.	do.	The same.
27	do.	do.	The same.
28	do.	do.	The same.
29	do.	do.	The same.
30	do.	clo.	The same; strong wind from S.W.

Although a winter month in this country, it had no appearance of such to me. Mornings and evenings always cold; nights serene.

JULY 1826.

Days.	Fore-noon.	After-noon.	OBSERVATIONS.
1	fair	fair	Large dark clouds ; windy weather.
2	do.	do.	
3	do.	do.	Threatening snow, cold, high winds.
4	do.	do.	The same.
5	do.	do.	The same.
6	do	do.	Fine weather, but sharp cold.
7	do.	do.	The same.
8	v. f.	v. f.	In the winter months, when the wind is not strong,
9	do.	do.	the sun continues powerful, and the weather fine,
10	do.	do.	though cold.
11	do.	do.	Large masses of white clouds, cold S.W. wind.
12	do.	do.	Fine weather, but cold.
13	do.	do.	The same.
14	do.	do.	The same.
15	do.	do.	The same.
16	do.	do.	Very fine weather.
17	do.	do.	The same.
18	do.	do.	The same, cold in shade.
19	do.	do.	The same, with strong S.W. wind.
20	do.	do.	Very hard frost in shade.
21	do.	do.	The same.
22	do.	do.	The same.
23	do.	do.	The same.
24	do.	do.	The same.
25	do.	do.	The same.
26	fine	fine	Cloudy, cold, and threatening snow.
27	do.	do.	Fine clear cold weather, hot in sun.
28	do.	do.	The same.
29	do.	do.	Threatening snow.
30	do.	do.	Fine weather, with high wind.
31	do.	do.	Fine weather, but cold.

This for a winter month appeared to us Europeans very fine weather. Swollen faces and sore throats were prevalent.

AUGUST 1826.

Days.	Fore-noon.	After-noon.	OBSERVATIONS.
1	fine	fine	Hot in sun, very cold in shade.
2	v. f.	v. f.	Remarkably fine day, and clear blue sky.
3	do.	do.	The same.
4	do.	do.	Sharp cold wind from the westward.
5	do.	do.	Very fine day.
6	do.	do.	The same, cold in shade.
7	do.	do.	The same.
8	do.	do.	The same.
9	do.	do.	Very fine day, cold in shade.
10	do.	do.	Sharp wind from the westward.
11	do.	do.	Wind very strong from the southward.
12	do.	do.	Very fine day.
13	do.	do.	The same.
14	do.	clou.	Sharp cold wind from the westward, and very cloudy.
15	do.	do.	Fine in the morning, but very cloudy in afternoon.
16	clou.	do.	Wind from westward and very cloudy.
17	do.	do.	Very cloudy.
18	do.	do.	The same.
19	do.	do.	The same.
20	fine	fine	Wind from the westward, and cloudy.
21	do.	do.	Fine cold weather.
22	do.	do.	The same.
23	do.	do.	Hot in sun.
24	do.	do.	The same.
25	do.	do.	Very fine weather.
26	do.	do.	High wind.
27	do.	do.	Fine weather.
28	do.	do.	The same.
29	do.	do.	The same, very cold in the evening.
30	do.	do.	Fine weather.
31	do.	do.	The same.

This is considered the severest month in the year, owing to very high winds and snow showers; but this year it has been milder than usual, and no snow has fallen, but hard frost every night.

SEPTEMBER 1826.

Days.	Fore-noon.	After-noon.	OBSERVATIONS.
1	fine	fine	Not so cold as hitherto.
2	do.	clou.	Threatening snow.
3	do.	fine	Morning very cold.
4	do.	do.	The same, sharp wind.
5	do.	do.	Hot in sun; night serene, and the half moon brilliant.
6	do.	do.	
7	v. f.	do.	Morning frosty. Windy day.
8	do.	do.	The same, windy, very hot in the sun.
9	do.	do.	do. do.
10	v. cl.	v. cl.	Very cloudy and windy.
11	do.	do	Morning very cloudy. Afternoon, thunder and lightning, heavy hail and snow.
12	v. f.	do.	Morning fine; afternoon very cloudy, threatening snow.
13	do.	do.	The same. Afternoon very cloudy and windy, a little snow.
14	do.	do.	do. do. do.
15	do.	v. f.	Very fine day; beautiful moonlight night.
16	do.	do.	The same.
17	v. cl.	fine	Very cloudy morning. Afternoon very fine.
18	v. f.	do.	Fine day, but windy.
19	v. cl.	v. cl.	Very cloudy, threatening snow.
20	v. f.	do.	Very fine morning. Afternoon hail-storm.
21	do.	do.	The same, very cloudy.
22	do.	v. f.	A very fine day.
23	do.	do.	The same.
24	do.	do.	The same.
25	do.	do.	The same.
26	do.	do.	The same.
27	do.	do.	The same.
28	do.	do.	The same.
29	do.	do.	The same.
30	do.	do.	The same.

Mornings always cold; nights serene.

OCTOBER 1826.

Days.	Fore-noon.	After-noon.	OBSERVATIONS.
1	fine	fine	A very fine day.
2	do.	do.	Fine morning ; afternoon cloudy.
3	do.	clou.	The same. Evening, rain; the first for six months.
4	do.	do.	Fine day after rain.
5	do.	do.	Afternoon very cloudy.
6	do.	do.	A very fine day.
7	do.	clou.	The same.
8	do.	fine	The same.
9	do.	do.	Fine morning. Afternoon a snow-shower.
10	do.	do.	The same. Afternoon cloudy. Evening very fine.
11	do.	clou.	do. Afternoon a snow-storm.
12	do.	do.	do. Afternoon cloudy. Evening fine.
13	do.	do.	Afternoon a little snow, hail, and thunder.
14	do.	fine	Fine weather, a little cold.
15	do.	do.	The same, serene and brilliant moonlight night.
16	do.	clou.	Afternoon slight rain, and threatening snow.
17	do.	do.	Do. very slight snow, and some rain with thunder.
18	do.	do.	The rain falling at this season is considered a
19	do.	fine	great blessing.
20	do.	do.	Afternoon, rain, thunder and lightning.
21	do.	do.	Very fine day.
22	do.	do.	The same.
23	do.	do.	The same.
24	do.	do.	The same.
25	do.	do.	The same.
26	do.	do.	The same.
27	do.	do.	The same.
28	do.	clou.	Overcast and cold. Afternoon, thunder and rain.
29	do.	do.	Afternoon, cloudy, thunder, rain, and sleet.
30	do.	do.	Afternoon, sleet, hail, rain, loud thunder with light-ning.
31	do.	do.	Afternoon, cloudy and cold.

On S. W. side of the Cerro the snow enters the mouths of the abandoned mines in that quarter, and is there perpetually frozen.

NOVEMBER 1826.

Days.	Fore-noon.	After-noon.	OBSERVATIONS.
1	clou.	clou.	Cold day. Afternoon, snow and sleet.
2	fine	do.	Afternoon cold, sleet, rain, and like a November day in England.
3	do.	fine	Cold in shade, hot in sun.
4	do.	clou.	The same.
5	clou.	do.	The same. In evening, thunder and lightning.
6	fine	fine	Very fine day.
7	do.	do.	The same.
8	do.	do.	The same, evening windy.
9	do.	do.	The same, fine moonlight night.
10	do.	do.	The same.
11	do.	do.	The same, very hot in sun.
12	clou.	clou.	Overcast and cold.
13	fine	do.	Afternoon overcast, thunder, and some rain.
14	fair	do.	Do. cloudy and cold; night fine.
15	fine	fine	Very fine day, and fine night.
16	do.	do.	The same.
17	do.	do.	The same, excessively hot in the sun.
18	do.	do.	The same.
19	do.	do.	The same, slight shower of sleet.
20	do.	do.	Fine weather, cold in the shade.
21	do.	clou.	Overcast.
22	do.	do.	Fine weather.
23	clou.	do.	Early this morning snow: day overcast.
24	fine	do.	Afternoon, loud thunder, hail, and slight rain.
25	do.	fair	Afternoon, thunder.
26	fair	clou.	Forenoon, very slight snow. Afternoon, loud thunder. Evening, fine.
27	fine	do.	Afternoon, lightning and tremendous thunder, rain; night fine.
28	v. f.	v. f.	Scorching hot in sun, cold in shade; delightful evening.
29	do.	fine	The same. Evening, thunder and lightning.
30	fine	clou.	Thunder, and threatening rain.

Young potatoes, peas, beans, and strawberries, came to market in the middle of this month.

DECEMBER 1826.

Days.	Fore-noon.	After-noon.	OBSERVATIONS.
1	v. f.	v. f.	Hot in sun ; lightning in evening.
2	do.	var.	Afternoon, hail, with lightning, and tremendous thunder. Evening, thunder ; night, mild and fine.
3	fine	do.	Afternoon, snow, rain, thunder. Evening, very cold. Night serene and mild.
4	fair	do.	Towards evening, lightning, loud thunder, rain ; night fine.
5	fine	v. f.	Extremely hot in sun ; delightful night.
6	do.	clou.	Threatening rain, thunder ; fine night.
7	do.	fine	Morning, a thick mist, the first since I have been here ; very hot in the sun about noon.
8	v. f.	v. f.	Very hot in sun. Evening cold.
9	do.	do.	Do. do. Night serene and mild.
10	fine	stor.	Afternoon very high wind, and dark cloudy weather.
11	do.	fine	Very hot in sun.
12	v. f.	v. f.	The same.
13	do.	do.	The same.
14	do.	clou.	Same. Afternoon, distant thunder,threatening rain.
15	fine	var.	Same. Evening, rain ; night, heavy fall of snow.
16	clou.	v. f.	Morning, thick fog on mountain. Afternoon, very fine. Evening, rain, thunder.
17	do.	clou.	Showers of hail, and slight rain.
18	fine	fine	Very hot in sun ; very cold in shade.
19	v. f.	v. f.	The same.
20	do.	do.	Mornings fresh and frosty.
21	do.	do.	Sun very hot ; in shade cold.
22	do.	clou.	Afternoon, thunder, threatening rain.
23	do.	do.	Afternoon, thunder showers, and some lightning.
24	clou.	v. f.	Rain early in morning. Afternoon very fine.
25	v. f.	do.	Hot in sun ; cold in shade.
26	do.	do.	The same.
27	do.	do.	Sun extremely hot. Evening cloudy.
28	do.	clou.	In an instant, from serene and fine—clouds, sleet, rain, and thunder.
29	do.	do.	Suddenly sleet, rain, thunder, and hail.
30	clou.	do.	Afternoon, sleet, tremendous thunder, lightning, rain.
31	fine	do.	Afternoon, loud thunder, rain.

The mean temperature may be about 58° of Fahrenheit.

CHAPTER VIII.

Exertions of men in the cause of others, however zealous, condemned when unsuccessful.—Dissolution of the Potosi Mining establishment.—A card of excuse.—Stagnant state of existence.—Unceasing change in the Government of the South American States. — Fanciful picture of an idealist.—A regular life.—Domestic concerns.

JANUARY 1, 1827. Whoever has read "Reports relating to the failure of the Rio Plata Mining Association," although he may disagree with the author on some important points, yet must admit that, under the difficulties with which that active officer had to contend, every step was conscientiously taken, according to the best of his judgment, for the interest and benefit of the Association he represented. Himself a man of honour, he cared only for the opinions of such, and, assured of these, he acted, sometimes indeed with precipitancy, but always with a confidence that he was performing his duty.

By practising all the good, and avoiding the few errors, of such a line of conduct, it might be supposed that a man could hardly fail in gaining the approbation of all parties. The chief commissioner of the late Chilian and Peruvian Company seems as nearly as possible to have done so; but still he was found fault with, and his proceedings were disapproved. Such is the injustice of men, that they view as a crime even the desire to please, when that desire, strenuous as it may have been, has not succeeded. The reflection is certainly disheartening; but it is requisite to bear in mind, that although we cannot command approbation, we should never relax in our exertions to deserve it. This sentiment encourages me now to steer forward in a course which I consider to be for the benefit of my employers, and which, as such, I deem it my duty to pursue.

Having maturely considered the situation in which the affairs of the Association have been thrown, and seeing no prospect of relief, I resolved to break up the whole Potosi establishment, and thereby effect a very important saving in salaries alone. In pursuance of this resolution, I wrote a few friendly lines to my companions in adversity, Baron Czettritz and Mr. Scriviner, stating that, the reduction of the establishment being imperatively called for, I

found myself reluctantly compelled to give them notice that their services were no longer required.

This proceeding occasioned no small degree of surprise to my two friends, and added to the deep annoyance they already experienced, in common with all concerned, from the calamitous turn our affairs had so suddenly taken. They soon, however, reconciled themselves to the event; and their own zealous performance of what they considered their duty, added to their high sense of integrity, prevented them from viewing this act of authority as in the slightest degree unfriendly on my part.

Baron Czettritz, from his practical mining intelligence, skill, and general information, all of which, in the opinion of the natives, were considerably enhanced by that affability of manner before alluded to, and which is the best passport through this country, acquired many friends, who had spread their good report respecting his abilities into distant mining districts, whence he received proposals for remodelling, or conducting, sundry establishments, some of which he thought likely to prove beneficial to his views.

Mr. Scriviner, having profited fairly by the liberal education he had received in the medical profession, which he occasionally practised

at Potosi with considerable success, retired to Salta, where, at the express invitation of many respectable families of that town, he established himself; and possessing, as he does, those good qualities which seldom fail to acquire friends, he is as likely to make his way through the rugged journey of life, on which he has only just entered, as any young man in his situation, for he carries with him the esteem and good wishes of all who know him.

15th. This day I invited to dinner a few friends to meet the prefect of the department and the gallant soldier, general Cordova. Among those friends was Señor V. Doctor of Laws and secretary to the government, who, to my card of invitation, returned a reply which may be found closely Englished in old Francis Quarles—

> " Behold these rags—am I a fitting guest
> To taste the dainties of thy noble feast,
> With hands and face unwashed, ungirt, unblest ?"

That the foregoing is not a very loose paraphrase of the original, may be seen by a glance at the literal translation.

" Doctor V. is extremely grateful to Don Edmondo for his friendly summons to his feast, *(festin,)* but Doctor V, not having shaved for some days, and being so very dirty (*sucio*), he begs to be excused from appearing among decent people (*gente decente*)."

I readily excused my friend, and from the general good-humour and hilarity of the whole company, except the giver of the feast, there was no reason to suppose that the absence of the unshaved, unwashed, uncombed Doctor, was in any way regretted. Except myself, the whole company seemed to enjoy their entertainment with feelings of mirth and merriment. I struggled hard to do so too, but every attempt was fruitless; an unseemly distortion of the muscles about the mouth was the best attempt I could make to laugh at a good joke, and tended only to prove the extreme difficulty of wearing a face of pleasure with a heart of pain; a difficulty which I have sometimes succeeded in overcoming, and thought I could do so here, but in vain.

The state of harassing perplexity into which I was thrown by our sudden and unexpected reverse of fortune, became doubly distressing from the presence of *ennui* in its most lugubrious character. I found myself for the first time in my life in a stagnant state of existence, in which Time itself seemed to pause, or stole with leaden steps so tediously along, as to leave no other feeling than dreariness and weariness to the exiled mind. It was not a feeling of cankering care, nor pain, nor sorrow: dire as

the disappointment really was, yet was there no peculiar ill, no personal grievance, to mourn; still less was the want of society a cause of deep regret to me, for I am not one of those

"Who find it solitude to be alone."

But there was no occupation, no means of spinning out the hours, nothing to invite to the enjoyment of retirement, nothing to excite a single sensation of interest or pleasure: an unvaried dulness lingered on every day. Nature herself is here divested of that marvellous variety so peculiarly her own, and exhibits in the scenery around one only aspect of sullenness and gloom. Above, the sky is generally without a cloud or tinge to vary its expanse of blue; and though it cannot be looked on without admiration, yet it soon ceases to attract, or when we gaze on it, splendid as the view is, we feel that a something is wanting to relieve the monotonous effect. So it is with the still features of inanimate Beauty: when we become accustomed to them, admiration ceases; we then seek for and prefer the mind and accomplishments, which constitute the true charms of society, and make companionship endearing.

The political events of the country have lat-

terly considerably increased the unpleasantness of our situation. All communication with the lower provinces has been effectually cut off by insurgent chiefs, who permit no correspondence whatever with Buenos Ayres, the channel through which we have been accustomed to receive our letters from Europe; therefore, to us, those heartfelt consolations from distant friends, may be fairly considered hermetically sealed.

The mania of unceasing change, which has so conspicuously marked the conduct of the South Americans in their plans and modes of government, unhappily continues unabated, and has recently extended with a violence that has again thrown into convulsion nearly the whole of this vast continent.

A few months ago the province of Tarija became a subject of dispute between the governments of Buenos Ayres and Bolivia, when the latter dispatched an armed force, under colonel O'Conor, who took possession of it, and soon afterwards, owing to his judicious and conciliatory conduct, that fine province submitted peaceably and unanimously to Bolivia. Since that period, disturbances have taken place in Lima, where general Santa Cruz, placing himself at the head of the army, has declared the

government as established by Bolivar to be at an end, and requires the republic of Bolivia, to which the Liberator gave his name, to join the revolutionary standard. The latter, aware of its inability to oppose the forces of Lower Peru, and change after change being the order of the day, must in turn submit to the strongest party.

The provinces of Salta, Tucuman, Santiago, Cordova, and Rioja, are now a prey to civil war, having taken the field, one against the other, under the mistaken notions of patriotism and liberty. It is these sadly abused terms that have kept the whole of South America for several years past in continual disquiet; every state has had its share of those restless characters,

> "Who for Freedom idly rave,
> And set no bounds to what they crave,
> But still for Freedom bawl."

Dissatisfied with every act that does not emanate from themselves, they fancy themselves the advocates of liberty, and instigate endless intrigues to thwart the measures of Government, with no other design than to thrust themselves into power, which, (when they have acquired it,) they have neither capacity to employ, nor the valour to retain. The mass of the people are

weary of these commotions, and in many places seem disposed to unite to put down the authors of them, who, with a few hundred bayonets at their command, have kept, and still keep, the country in disorder and alarm, though without any very sanguinary consequences or loss of life, which I have heard lamented by the advocates of peace! Because, say they, if some few heads were occasionally taken off, the example would keep others quiet; but the bloodless struggles which constantly occur are encouraged by the actors being suffered to escape with impunity.

The republic of Bolivia is probably not destined to remain an independent state; its geographical position, as well as its most prudent policy, seems to demand a junction with Lower Peru; and if this takes place with the good will of all parties, and they finally succeed in establishing a government, combining energy with mildness, firmness with indulgence, and are resolved to maintain that internal order and external peace, so indispensable to permanent tranquillity and public confidence; then may we behold the stir of industry and commerce, and with them the development of resources which these regions certainly possess, in a greater degree than is generally supposed, but

which, from obvious causes, have never yet been called into activity.

I know that there are persons who view all matters connected with this country with contemptuous indifference, and believe that it is little better than a vast wilderness, without means or hope of improvement, and that there is to be no end of that state of anarchy and confusion in which the people have unhappily so long continued. It may probably be found that the majority of such persons are altogether uninformed respecting the country, its inhabitants, and the real state of things as regards either the present or the future. It may be found that their views of South America have been taken through a medium of unjustifiable prejudice, founded generally on the disappointment of exaggerated hopes, raised in the evil hour of their own ill-judged speculations. In this case, as in all others arising from selfish and narrow principles, opinions have been hastily adopted without any examination of their truth. But there are opinions of a very different nature, given by men who have examined with the dispassionate discrimination of enlightened and philosophic minds the position, present and future, of this fine country; it is from them I gather, not arrogantly con-

cluding from my own observations, careful as I have been in making them, that the destinies which await her need no embellishment from illusive or chimerical calculations; and it becomes necessary, either to destroy or to falsify history, that unchangeable monument of the rights and usurpations of the human race, before it can be maintained that America is not liable to the same changes that all other nations have experienced.* And what nation ever commenced its career with more brilliant examples for its guidance? If those examples, and many other advantages, have not yet been made available, it is not unreasonable to attribute the cause, in a great degree, to that systematic plan of debasement which extended to the prohibition of all useful knowledge, and, having been long and uniformly practised, carried destruction to the basis of civilized society. Time must be granted before any superstructure of solidity can be erected on a ruin so complete; but the accomplishment of it is opposed by no insur-

* Es necessario ó falsificar la historia, ese monumento inalterable de los derechos y usurpaciones del genero humano, para sostener que la America no esta sujeta à la alternativa de todas las naciones.

Manifiesto que hace al mundo, La Confederacion de Venezuela, 1811.

mountable object. A wise government, instigated by an enlightened zeal, and devoted to the public good, is the grand *desideratum;* that once established, prosperity must follow, for all that then seems requisite is easily defined, —namely, to execute justice and maintain peace—to facilitate and encourage emigration from Europe—to educate the people, to cause every thing to be done that can relieve them, every thing that can improve their condition, physically, morally, intellectually, and religiously.* Then may South America attain a power and consequence, stupendous and elevated as the majestic crests of her native Andes, and one day command, as did Rome in her proud days of triumph, the admiration and reverence of the surrounding world.

However much this picture may be embellished by the fancy of an idealist or an enthusiast, it is not an unpleasing one to those who feel an interest and satisfaction in contemplating the destinies of a rising people, among whom no unprejudiced person can have lived without having found much to respect and to admire, and to induce him to confess, that their many

* See an article in Quart. Rev. Oct. 1828, on "The Roman Catholic Question—Ireland," every word of the conclusion of which aptly applies to the South American States.

defects are not without a counterpoise of qualities which require only to be well directed in order to become equally useful and creditable to themselves and to their country.

26th. The spaces that latterly intervene in the dates of my journal, may probably attract the notice of my friends, and induce them to ask why I have not availed myself of the time that must necessarily hang upon my hands, to present them with something more solid and interesting respecting the country and its inhabitants, than what I have hitherto done? I have long since informed them of my having put an end to every business connected with the Association, consequently, the office I hold having become a *sinecure*, it is reasonable to conclude that I am not only unemployed, but actually reposing on a bed of roses in a state of the most profound idleness. Away with your 'bed of roses!' I thought I had already shown that mine was 'the rack of rest,' and its torture intolerable. I still find it so, and each succeeding day tends only to augment the misery it occasions. With respect to 'idleness,' are we not told that "it is the grand Pacific Ocean of life,"* and that in its stagnant

* Lacon, vol. ii.

abyss the most salutary things produce no good—nothing. I believe it.

Every day I am reminded "to regulate my life;" never was there less occasion for the wholesome admonition, because never did I lead a life so regular. I rise regularly at seven every morning, when I regularly commence yawning; then regularly yawn through the day, till near ten o'clock in the evening, when I regularly go yawning to bed, and regularly sleep till seven the next morning, unless roused in the course of the night by a thunder-storm, the effects of which can be compared only to an earthquake, accompanied by the discharge of all the artillery of the universe in your antechamber. Notwithstanding this unerring regularity of life, I am daily reminded to continue it; for in the forenoon I regularly stroll out with my hands in my breeches-pockets, and hat on one side, (not unlike Hogarth's tired rake in the Rake's Progress,) and direct my lingering steps to the ancient convent of Augustin Friars, where there happens to be a sundial, by which every watch in and about Potosi is regularly regulated. Thither I saunter every day—"Oh! weary reckoning!"—to mark the stealing steps of never-standing Time, and set my watch by the dial with as much precision

as if every minute was apportioned to some important purpose, instead of unceasing yawns, such as are occasioned on perusing the dull and wearisome works of former times, now happily superseded by our interesting productions in this age of intellect.

On the pillar of the sun-dial, one of the monks of the convent has engraved the following admonitory lines :—

" *Hombre vano y orgulloso,*
Sin ningun temor à Dios ;
Arregla tambien tu vida,
Como arreglas tu relox."

" Vain and proud man,
Without any fear of God ;
Regulate also thy life
As thou dost regulate thy watch."

February 2nd. In the present dearth of matter, or rather in the present 'regularity of my life,' which I find it impossible to break through, I shall present my readers with an account of my daily expenses, which, with the prices of a few necessaries, will convey a very tolerable idea of the markets, and the rate at which a person may live decently at Potosi, a place considered as expensive as any in South America.

My establishment consists, first, of number ONE, with a salary of five hundred sterling pounds *per annum!* (The English of *per annum* I thought, till now, meant 'payable yearly.') Then comes, next in dignity, José Luni, a Peruvian *Sambo*, (the next shade to a negro,) who is my major-domo and cook-major, with a salary of six Spanish dollars per month, or 14*l.* 8*s.* sterling per annum; very good wages no doubt, but then the very good qualities of José Luni justly entitle him to them, and fortunately for him, they are more regularly paid than his master's. This Sambo had married a Samba, whom I appointed, at her own request, to the office of housemaid, with a salary of two dollars per month, nearly 5*l.* sterling per annum. I found her in all things as honest, careful, and attentive as her husband. She *made a child*, as the French say, whilst in my house, and after her accouchement, I was formally solicited to become *padrino* (godfather) to the young Sambo. This is not here a mere formality, forgotten when the ceremony is ended, as is commonly the case in Europe; but becomes a connexion, "a spiritual affinity," even with the parents of the child, that is valued much more than a close relationship, and continues uninterrupted through life; and when the *padrino*

happens to be of a class in society higher than those for whom he becomes sponsor, he receives continual acts of attention and respect from his *compadres*, (co-parents,) who take a pride at every opportunity of mentioning their connexion, seldom even allowing him to pass in the street without pointing at him, and saying, with a feeling of enviable satisfaction, to the bystanders, "*Allí va mi compadre!*" There goes my benefactor, protector, friend! I myself became quite proud of this distinction, and frequently took my little black godson to dandle in my arms, for the sake of witnessing the delight which that act of condescension always occasioned to the parents. On those days I was sure to have at dinner some favourite dish dressed with extraordinary care, and pointed out to me by José as an addition of his own to the bill of fare; whilst his wife Maria would sweep, dust, and clean my apartments, without being scolded or implored to do so, as was generally requisite.

I would have left with the utmost confidence *oro en polvo* (Englished, *untold gold*,) in the possession of these poor people; and I shall never forget the distress and misery of mind that reigned for several days in my household from feelings of sheer honesty on their part.

At the period alluded to, the little Sambo was cutting his teeth, and the unusual dejection which I observed in José, whom with his wife I frequently caught in tears, I attributed to the cares and anxieties of parents, and for some time patiently put up with the worst of bad cookery on the part of José, and the total neglect of my apartments on the part of Maria, who sometimes did not even make my bed. Not wishing to deprive my little black godson of the attention of his parents, I one day said to José—"José, I can stand this no longer; therefore, since you and your wife cannot spare time to afford me the slightest assistance, I have no objection to your hiring some other person, until *Josesito* (little Joey) gets better."—"*No, Señor!*" said José, clenching his fist, straining his eyes as in fury, and with a loud and determined voice—"*No, Señor, ni el demonio entrera en esta casa, si yo tengo fuerza de excluirle!*" ("No, Sir! nor shall the devil himself come into this house if I have strength to keep him out!") "Don't you see, Sir," continued he, "that I have kept the gate locked for this week past, and have not suffered any body to come within these walls?"—"Yes, yes," said I, "all very true; but Mr. Scriviner informs me, that there is nothing whatever of consequence

in the illness of Josesito; and I cannot permit—" José interrupting me, exclaimed,—" Josesito! Josesito! what has *la creatura* (the infant) to do with the business?"—" Why," said I, " is he not the cause of my having been latterly altogether neglected and nearly starved?"—" *Ah! patron mio,*" said José, with tears in his eyes, " a worse calamity than any thing of that kind has befallen me; but I 'll find him out! if my patron Saint can be moved by prayers, I 'll find out the thief!"—" The thief!" said I, " what thief? has any thing been stolen from you?" —" *Oh! mi patron! mi patron!*" said José, in accents of despair that excited in me the utmost impatience to know the cause, " the stable," said he, " was entered."—" The stable! the stable!" I repeated, jumping from my chair; " has Tortuga been stolen?" for several horses and mules had been lately stolen in the town.—"*Paciencia, patron mio, no hai nada de esa.*" (" Patience, master dear, there is nothing of that.") " The stable was entered the other day, and—"—" And what?"—" And two of the silver plates were stolen!" Here José's articulation was interrupted by sobs and tears. " And what the *diablo* brought the silver plates into the stable?"—" Oh! I had thrown them there, with all the rest of the plates and dishes, for

the convenience of scrubbing them, which I often told you was not the custom in this country, but you know you would insist upon having them look bright, and the consequence is, when I threw them into the stable, where I have always scoured them, two of them were carried off; but I have got Saint Joseph at the head of my bed, and have kept a candle burning before him ever since, and my wife and I pray to him ten times a day, and have vowed, that if he reveals the thief we will not eat a morsel of flesh-meat for two months."—"This, then," said I, "has been the cause of all the distress I have observed of late?"—"*Si, Señor.*"—"And why should you have condemned me to the penance of starvation, in addition to the loss of my plate?"—"Oh! Señor, neither Maria nor I have been capable of any thing since that unhappy hour, and we have been ashamed to look our *compadre* in the face."—"Well, well," said I, "as I suppose you are convinced that your careful 'shutting of the gate and keeping it locked,' has been rather late, and that to continue to do so will prevent farther losses, I desire that you and Maria may return to your business, and leave the discovery of the thief to Saint Joseph."

Plate of all kind, sometimes of very elaborate

workmanship, is easy to be obtained at the Bank of Potosi for about three and threepence per ounce, and I have found it to the full as economical as European crockery ware.

It is due to the benevolent disposition of the Saint to add, that in the course of a few weeks he acceded to the unremitting prayers of José and Maria; but, instead of overwhelming them with joy, as I expected such an event was likely to do, it actually converted the one into a tiger and the other into a tigress. On the first intimation they received of the detection of the thief (who proved to be an Indian in the habit of providing forage for my horses), away they went, furious, and when the plates were found, they literally tore every particle of clothing in tatters from the man's body, then beat him with the plates, which might be seen flourishing about his head as actively as a pair of cymbals, and were each battered into a shapeless mass, without the slightest consideration that the property was mine. The uproar spread through Potosi, and no thief ever after ventured to purloin the property entrusted to José.

I have already enumerated in my establishment, Self, major-domo, and housemaid, to which I have to add, a peone, my head groom, who received the wages of six dollars per

month, and an Indian, who was "every thing by turns and nothing long;" or in other words, having, as is generally the case, the *least* wages, he had the *most* work, thus making altogether a family of five persons.

The weekly bill of the house-expenditure, which was regulated entirely by José, and, except when I had a few friends to dinner, never varied in the amount two shillings in any week, was nearly this—

	Dollars.	Rials.
Bread	1	6
Meat	1	4
Potatoes	0	4
Milk, about three pints a day	1	0
A dozen of doves	0	1
Cabbage	0	3
Lettuce, the finest kind, for which Potosi is famous the whole year round	0	2
Onions	0	1
Eggs	0	2
Fish, Sand Eels	0	4
Rice	0	2
Sundry fruits and vegetables	0	5
Total	7	2

making one pound and nine shillings sterling.

To the foregoing weekly family account, is to be added a trifle for maize, which is very

cheap, and forms, from choice, a principal part of the food of the lower classes; also the occasional purchase of a sheep, which, fleece and all, costs about four shillings, and, when kept for some time in the stable feeding on barley, makes very good mutton. The master's table was sometimes furnished with fowls and chickens, from one shilling to one shilling and threepence each, and partridges, very fine at one shilling each. Butter is brought from a great distance in bladders, and sells for about five or six shillings per pound, the quality such as would be used to grease cart-wheels in England. The best loaf-sugar is brought from Cusco, and sells from two shillings to two shillings and sixpence per pound. Tea, of which green only is to be had, comes from the ports of the Pacific; the price varies according to the stock on hand; I have paid sixteen, twenty, and twenty-four shillings the pound, the quality always very good. Chocolate of the country is so good, as frequently to have been considered a desirable present from the Spaniards to their friends in Spain, price three shillings and sixpence to four shillings the pound. The coffee of the country is excellent, price eight shillings the pound, roasted and ground. Wines are very little used, except at large

dinner-parties, and then they are freely indulged in, but seldom to any excess: claret, tolerable, twelve shillings the bottle; champagne from twelve to sixteen shillings the bottle; English cider, six to eight shillings the bottle. There is a very good wine grown at Cinti, about forty or fifty leagues distant from Potosi, which sells from two shillings to two shillings and sixpence the bottle; it resembles Burgundy, and, under proper treatment, might equal if not surpass it in every respect; but at present the method of making and keeping it, is said to be altogether faulty. The cultivation of the vine and wine-making might be a lucrative speculation in many parts of South America. Rum and brandy sell for about eight or ten shillings the bottle. Empty bottles, till lately, sold for a dollar each, but now they do not fetch more than a shilling. Thus, it may be seen, that there is no want of necessaries at Potosi, and, considering the great distance of land-carriage over the Cordillera on the backs of mules, a mode liable to so many accidents, the prices are not very exorbitant. A grand "set-out" of a dinner, or as others call it, "a regular swell," for sixteen or eighteen persons, generally cost me, all expenses included, from thirty to forty dollars.

Apothecaries' drugs are drugs indeed, and excessively dear, which will hardly be the case when Science advances and avails herself of the great variety of medicinal plants and herbs which abound in the valleys of Peru; but, for the present, I strongly recommend all visiters to this country to beware of mock-doctors and their infallible poisons. It is by no means unusual for an apothecary, who happens to be unprovided with the ingredients specified in the recipe, to send you the value of your money (which must always accompany it) in some other drugs of his own selection, but which you of course swallow, supposing them to be those that were ordered. If you chance to meet the apothecary at any future period, you will be relieved from any doubt of his intention to defraud, for he will boast of the favour that he considered he was conferring on you, in sending at the same price, drugs infinitely stronger and dearer than those mentioned in the recipe; you are *then*, probably for the first time, enabled to account for the very extraordinary and unexpected effects of your doctor's prescription.

CHAPTER IX.

All's well that ends well.—Dead asleep.—Carnival merriment.—Costume of the Cholas.—An interesting display of science.—Consequence of taking out a passport.—Discovery of a conspiracy.—Thunder-storm.—Singular superstitions of the Indians.—A dinner party.

FEBRUARY 15th, I had the gratification of receiving letters from our chief commissioner, approving the steps I had taken in reducing our establishment; and, for the final settlement of our concerns here, he transmitted to me the following powers.

"It being necessary to conclude forthwith all the concerns of the Potosi, La Paz, and Peruvian Mining Association, you have my power and authority to take all such steps as you may judge fit for this object. You will sell to the best advantage of the Society all the effects, of whatever description, that there may be at Potosi, and, in a word, for the purpose of conducting the business with the greater convenience, I confer upon you the powers that I hold, con-

vinced that, in prudence and discretion, you will do every thing in the best manner for the benefit of the Society.

Signed,

JAMES PAROISSIEN."

Although it was very satisfactory to be possessed of such full powers, I had long since anticipated and acted upon them from my own authority, convinced that, in our situation, indecision and delay could produce no good.

" The fated sky
Gives us free scope, only doth backward pull
Our slow designs, when we ourselves are dull."

ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL.

And wishing all to end well in this case, I settled every claim against the Association over which I had any control, with the single exception of the rent for Linares' house; the money for this purpose I have been daily expecting to receive from the chief commissioner, and the payment of it would leave me free to retrace my steps homeward in solitude and disappointment.

28th. Had a stranger for the first time entered Potosi about noon on this day, he might have imagined that he had arrived in an uninhabited city. All doors and windows were closed; business of every kind was at a stand,

even the market-places were deserted and without any supply of provisions: not a living soul was to be seen in the streets: the wary condor, which usually shuns the abode of man, soared over the town as in surprise at the desolation; a death-like silence prevailed, as though the inhabitants were stretched in their tombs or stretched in their beds, dead asleep!—yes, precisely so, — dead asleep!—This was the real cause. Yesterday being Shrove-Tuesday, the entire day and night were spent in one continued round of mirth and festivity peculiar to these people, who at all times prefer their numerous holidays to their few days of work; but, on this festival, all thoughts of the concerns of this world or the next are utterly abandoned, for the purpose of devoting them wholly and solely to the enjoyment of the *last day* of the Carnival.

Grandfathers and grandmothers, with one foot in the grave, withdraw it on this occasion for a last feeble hop in the dancing-ring of younger generations. All seem inspired with the innocent folly of first childhood, and the whole population, male and female, become blended as in one family-party of joy and jubilee. Being one of them, I should feel for ever ashamed had I declined performing my

part; I therefore dealt and received, with inconsiderate prodigality, showers of flour, powdered starch, and bon-bons; I pelted the ladies and was pelted by them, with dozens of egg-shells, filled with perfumed waters, which are sometimes poured, even to drenching, upon some favourite victim, and a well-directed shot in the face with one of those egg-shells is not at all times agreeable; but, as all suffer alike, no one can feel angry at a fellow-sufferer's joke—

"Nor jest mean insult, where men sympathize."

Such was the scene yesterday, and such the exhaustion occasioned by dancing, racing, singing, screaming, and unbounded indulgence in drink of all sorts for twenty-four successive hours, that this day one half of the inhabitants kept their beds from inebriety, and the other half from excessive fatigue; that is to say, some were as intoxicated with joy as others were with drinking.

Towards evening, animation being restored, all again rose, and, according to ancient custom, dressed and adorned themselves in all the riches and finery they either possessed, or borrowed, or could in any way obtain; then proceeded in promenade to a short distance from

the town, under the great mountain, there in one grand *tertulia* to sit and converse, or, for those who had strength left, to dance till sunset. This assemblage is for the purpose of "burying the festivities of the carnival," for, at the close of the evening, guitars, fiddles, and pipes, are bound round with black crape or ribbons, and, with these emblems of mourning, buried in the earth, their uses being supposed to have ceased with the termination of the carnival.

The scene was as curious as it was brilliant; the quantity of diamonds, pearls, and gold and silver ornaments, that was displayed, according to the circumstances of the wearers, was immense. Some of the ear-rings are so ponderous, as to require round the top of the head a gold chain, the ends of which are attached to the ear-rings, to relieve the ears from the weight. The Cholas, in particular, pride themselves in the exhibition of their jewelry on this evening; their dress, too, is more conspicuous than that of others; a full-plaited petticoat, containing from twelve to fourteen yards of rich velvet or satin, trimmed with ribbons of the most gaudy colours, and sometimes with festoons of artificial flowers. A scarf is thrown over the shoulders, but not so as to hide the shining raven tresses that hang in plaits down

View in the Durbar at Delhi.

the back; on the head they sometimes wear a narrow-brimmed black hat, similar to that of the Welsh women. The whole produces a very striking effect on a fine handsome figure, which at the age of twenty they generally exhibit.

Although the days of the carnival were spent in tumultuous glee, and much drunkenness prevailed among all the lower orders, quarrels were few, and, in the densest crowd, picking pockets was never known or heard of. The Indians continued running through the streets, morning, noon, and night, beating drums, blowing horns and whistles, accompanied by the screams of women and children, but never molested other parties, and seemed in perfect concord among themselves.

It is scarcely fair to mention the solitary exception of a dispute which ended in a pugilistic fight between two Indians, fine young men, who, although quite uninstructed, displayed astonishing *science*. I felt, I know not why or wherefore, a delightful satisfaction in witnessing the dexterity with which they alternately gave and defended the most tremendous blows; and when the 'claret began to flow' freely from eyes, mouth, and nose, I was surprised to find myself left alone to enjoy the sport. The natives, when they failed in re-

storing peace, turned in disgust from a scene to which they were unaccustomed; whilst I, with the true characteristic feeling of a Briton, gave every encouragement to the combatants, and maintained the laws of honour and fair play between them, until both fell exhausted by their 'punishment,' which was so dreadfully and skilfully inflicted, that, had it occurred in England, it must have made the fortunes of both; but here, it nearly cost them their lives, without gratifying any soul, except myself. Such bluntness of sentiment and absence of all manly feeling may, however, be overlooked in a nation of semi-barbarians, whose improvement in manners, and refinement in taste, let us hope, will gradually take place among other benefits to be expected from the glorious revolution.

March 6th. In order to be in readiness to leave Potosi the moment the rent for Linares' house should be paid, I took out a passport for Buenos Ayres, which induced a suspicion in the mind of the vigilant agent of La Señora Linares, that I was going a little sooner than he wished; and, thinking that I had forgotten my real responsibility to him, he this day waited upon me, accompanied by a friend, who required security for the rent, and at the same

time delivered a legal injunction, prohibiting my departure from Potosi until it should be satisfied. The friend proved to be an *Alguazil*, and the proceeding neither more nor less than the arrest of my person for the debt, but for which I found no difficulty in procuring bail. Personal restraint, however, even for one's own doings, must at all times be gallingly irksome; that it is much more so when imposed upon us by the acts of others, many in the King's Bench can probably testify.

7th. Hark! the hour of attack approaches.—The Government of this Republic have for some time past had information, that the revolutionary disturbances of the neighbouring states had their advocates here, and that conspiracies were on foot to subvert the existing order of things.

The truth of the information has just been confirmed by the discovery of a gang of conspirators in full assembly; and, after a stout resistance, with exercise of gun, sword, and bayonet, on both sides, the Government succeeded in making twenty-eight prisoners. Their plan, it appears, was first to have obtained possession of a store where six hundred stand of arms and some ammunition are kept; with these they were to have attacked the barracks, where

about 250 Columbian soldiers are quartered, and thence proceeded to the mint, where they hoped to have acquired the 'sinews of war.' The colours of the Republic of Buenos Ayres were to have been hoisted in the great square, under an idea that many of the inhabitants would rally round it as friends to that Republic, because it happens to be at present in hostility to this; a mistake that surprised me not a little; for nothing can be more open and obvious than the general dislike of the Peruvians towards the Buenos Ayreans. The hatred that exists between the Spaniards and Portuguese, which must have been witnessed by every one who has visited the Peninsula, is not more manifest than that which subsists between the Peruvian and Argentine republics, and, indeed, between most of the South American States—petty jealousies, that keep alive discord and disorder, without hope of benefit to either party. But the ultimate object of the conspirators, and by far the most silly of their plans, was to cry—"*Viva Fernando septimo! el rey absoluto!*" Were the ample resources which Spain possesses fairly called forth, and wisely directed, and were she herself free from intestine divisions, it would be no difficult matter for her, in the present rivalship between the pro-

vinces, and personal disputes between republican governors and chiefs, to march an army from Panama to Cape Horn, without encountering any serious resistance. But how long that army could keep possession of the country I pretend not to say. Certain it is, that "*Viva el Rey!*" is a sound, and nothing more; for it is quite impossible that Spain can ever again permanently possess one foot of ground in this quarter of the world.

13th. The sun, in the forenoon of the last few days has been intensely hot, and the evenings excessively cold. An itinerant French quack, who has lately arrived here on a tour of *gullibility*, happening to have a thermometer, I ascertained this day that Fahrenheit stood before noon at 66°, and in the afternoon at 42°, making in the space of four hours a difference of 24 degrees in the temperature of the weather.

14th. "*The voice of Thy thunder was heard round about; the lightning shone upon the ground; the earth was moved, and shook withal.*"

Wonderful and terrible was the storm of this evening. A party of us assembled in a long balcony in the upper part of our house, and there sat for an hour, silently witnessing its effects as it raged and blazed in the valley be-

neath the town. The blue lightnings darted around in ten thousand dazzling flashes, and lost themselves in the earth, whilst the thunder rolled from mountain to mountain in long-continued peals, absolutely stunning to the senses, and baffling the power of description. Dense black clouds, intermixed with brilliant hues of blue and green, beautified the scene of awful magnificence.

I was not aware till now, that where earthquakes are prevalent, as at Lima, there is seldom or ever either thunder or lightning; and where thunder-storms are common, as at Potosi, earthquakes are unknown. Among our party in the balcony this evening was a Lima family, whose terror of the storm was particularly conspicuous; and when I expressed my surprise that they, who had given me so many accounts of the dreadful earthquakes they had experienced, should now feel so very much affrighted at a thunder-storm, I was instantly stopped short by the fervent exclamation of the whole family—"*Santissima Virgen! Madre de Dios!*"—"Holy Virgin! Mother of God! remove us but from this terrible scene, and place us, if thou wilt, amidst all the earthquakes in the world!"

Such is the effect of custom: some feel asto-

nishment in beholding towns and villages built among ruins, or at the foot of volcanoes, that repeatedly, and but recently, perhaps, overwhelmed the former inhabitants; while the present, totally unconcerned, live in as much confidence of security as those of places where such accidents never occurred. This absence of apprehension, produced by habit, may be observed in many dangerous trades and occupations, and has been ludicrously exemplified by the sailor, who, shut up in a castle during a violent storm, wished himself safe on board ship in the midst of the ocean.

20th. Received a letter from our chief commissioner dated from Arica, where he mentions that 'almost every individual of the Association is ill with fever and ague.' To me he gives the consoling information that 'I must not expect one penny from him.' This I thought hard, after I had settled the affairs of the Association, for, had the information been given sooner, I might in all justice have taken care of myself out of the means I previously possessed, but which I disbursed in full confidence of receiving a remittance. I have now nothing for it but to raise the wind by disposing of sundry little articles of gusto and curiosity, purchased at different times, in the hopeful hour of our

prosperity, and I shall consider myself fortunate if my loss does not exceed fifty per cent. I now yawned wider and louder than before, and *Ennui* hugged me closer than ever in her stultifying embrace.

24th. In the afternoon of this day, Señor Villanueva, the leader of the late conspiracy, was led into the public square, tied to a post, and shot. He was attended by a great many priests and friars, loudly clamorous in supplication of mercy from the Saviour, whose image on a cross was carried by one of them before the culprit, as he proceeded to execution. This ill-fated man was of a highly-respectable family, but had frequently before been engaged in conspiracy and intrigue, and as often escaped punishment. He was the only one of the lately detected gang who suffered death, although the evidence of guilt was precisely the same against them all. The consequence of this ill-judged lenity, as regards society at large, has been the encouragement, not the repression, of conspiracy and sedition. In a country where, in every class of life, there are but few occupations, there must of necessity be many idlers, and idlers are generally the most discontented of mankind. These meet at corners of streets, in *pulperias*, and in coffee-

houses, to pass the time in smoking cigars. One of the party accidentally mentions that "Don Fulano has got an appointment under Government of fifty dollars a month."—"How came he to get it?" says another. "I have more right to it than he," says a third. "Let us have a revolution," says a fourth. "*Corriente!*—with all my heart!" is the unanimous exclamation of the party. Fresh cigars are immediately lighted, and before they are smoked out, the "revolution" is planned. Guns, swords, and pistols, are talked of, and some few are probably obtained; but, being more for the presumed object of protection to themselves than of injury to others, arms are not of paramount importance. If the "revolutionists" understand that their plot has been discovered, they abscond in all haste to distant towns and villages, where they reside in quiet till their scheme has been forgotten, which generally happens in the course of a few weeks. If they have not been able to effect their escape, and are made prisoners, ten to one but they are thrown into gaol, where they probably remain also a few weeks, and are again let loose, one of them in the mean time being selected to be shot in the great square, *pour encourager les autres*. But if they prove successful, which

sometimes happens, they turn out of office the existing authorities, and install themselves and friends. The first act of the new Government is always to repeal some measure of their predecessors which had not met with public approbation; this, with a proclamation of pardon and oblivion of all past political offences, obtains popularity; a ball is given at the *cabildo*, and every thing goes on smoothly for a whole moon perhaps; when another cigar-party assembles, and acts, with little alteration, the same farce over again. But what, it may be asked, are the military doing all this time?—smoking *their* cigars!

Ninety-nine out of every hundred of the South American choppings and changes of government have been thus effected: some few, and only a few, have been more serious and more destructive of life and property; but then they are much more likely than the former to tend ultimately to permanent security and peace.

When the mortal existence of the unhappy Villanueva was terminated by the discharge of three muskets at his breast, the Indians, who were among the assembled crowd, rushed forward to scramble for pieces of the clothes of the deceased, which, according to some extra-

ordinary superstition, they dipped in his blood, for the purpose of afterwards selling to the women who make *chicha*, into which these rags are thrown on particular occasions to produce a charm, when all the Indians, male and female, in the neighbourhood, assemble and drink to excess of the horrible beverage.

Among the more innocent superstitions of the Indians, of which there are as many as among my countrymen in the Emerald Isle, I shall relate the following, as I happened to be personally concerned in it. A fine Indian youth, of shining copper-colour, with hair of jet flowing down his shoulders, called at the great gate of the house at which I lodged, and requested, " for the love of Maria Santissima !" to be permitted to pass into my room, for he had a subject of infinite importance (*suma importancia*) to communicate. He passed on, and entering my room, threw himself on his knees in an attitude of supplication, from which I with difficulty raised him, saying, that that was the posture for addressing Heaven, but not me. He replied, that " I could now be of more use to him than Heaven ; and implored, with tears in his eyes, that I might assent to his prayer." I was all amazement, and after forcing the man to rise from his kneeling

posture, he said, " He was a servant of the Condesa, (our *old friend* before alluded to,) who had turned him out of her house in consequence of a silver dish having been stolen last night, and his fellow-servants having accused him of being the thief. He knew, he said, that I was in possession of an armadillo, which had discovered to me on a former occasion the thief who had stolen my silver plates. He now threw himself again on his knees, and prayed that I would consult the armadillo as to the facts, and thereby relieve him from a charge, of which I should soon know that he was altogether innocent."

Being aware of the strange superstitions of the Indians respecting these little animals, and having heard several curious stories concerning them, this application was not altogether a surprise to me. I however assured the Indian that I did not possess an armadillo, but only the shell of one, which I produced, in the hope of satisfying him on that point; but I was mistaken, for he insisted that " it was well-known I had one alive, and that by means of it I had detected the thief who stole the pick-axe, as also several other evil deeds in Potosi, and that I was in the habit of conversing with it every night at twelve o'clock." My assur-

ance that I possessed no armadillo, and the declaration of my belief that if I did I could gain no information from it, seemed only to distress the Indian, without producing any conviction of the unreasonableness of his request, which he felt persuaded I refused because it was not accompanied with a fee. He pleaded poverty, but vowed his services in any way I should think fit to command, if I would but consult my infallible oracle, which it was in vain to deny that I possessed, for "my nocturnal conversations with the armadillo were notorious through the whole neighbourhood." The earnestness of the Indian so plainly bespoke his honesty, that I was induced to intercede with the good old lady Condesa, and had him restored to favour.

26th. Why should a man, says Shakspeare, "Whose blood is warm within, sit like his grandsire cut in alabaster?—What is to be gained by being dull and peevish?—Nothing; well then

> "Let me play the fool.
> With mirth and laughter let old wrinkles come;
> And let my liver rather heat with wine,
> Than my heart cool with mortifying groans."

A grand dinner was this day given by Don Pedro to the Minister Plenipotentiary from

the Republic of Peru to Bolivia, and among the guests I had the honour of being invited.

At three o'clock a numerous and exceedingly select company assembled in (as usual) a barn-like room, down the middle of which was a long narrow table, studded with plates, bottles of wine, and saucers, in alternate rows ; in the latter were small pieces of cheese, sausages, ham, and bacon, cut in fanciful slices, for the gratification of the eye, as well as the taste. Upon a side-table were several bottles of rum and spruce-beer, and plates of all sorts of cakes and confections, which were presented by the host as a welcome to his guests on their entering the room. *Dulces* (sweetmeats) are at all times highly prized in South America, and the handing them round with a glass of rum, (for on these particular occasions one glass serves a whole company,) affords a very happy opportunity of displaying politeness and attention—coin, which in this country is more current, and more valued, than in any other in the world ; and he who dispenses it liberally, not prodigally, will never want friends in South America. An Englishman must here abandon his own prejudices, and occasionally yield to the customs of those whom he may happen to visit, and into whose society he must recollect

he is always good-naturedly invited, never importunately urged. A little custom will soon reconcile him to various practices which may at first be found as repugnant to the taste as a black dose; but afterwards, they all go down as easily as a pill. He is not expected to accept a cigar from the mouth of another, nay, even from a domestic, as in Spain, where, by declining it, you commit a grievous offence against friendship and good-breeding. In South America I have never seen this act of friendly politeness proffered, because every one is usually furnished with a stock of tobacco in his pockets. But you must accept with grateful acknowledgment the remains of a glass of rum; the more lips it has touched the more cordiality in the dram;—off with it! and beware of wiping your mouth either before or after it. Should you be induced to wipe the brim of the glass before drinking, or turn it between yourself and the light to seek a little space free from humidity, your reputation is gone for ever!—"*Que barbaro!—Que hombre tan groséro!*"—"*Jesus! José! Jesus!*"* When a lady se-

* This word, which is pronounced as if written 'Haysoos,' is a very common exclamation amongst ladies, as well as gentlemen; but is meant in a pious, never in an impious sense.

lects a gentleman from the company, by beckoning, or calling him to take her glass and sip after her, the compliment is then highly enviable; and whether her lips be pale and shrivelled by the wintry effect of years, or cherry-ripe and pouting in the fragance of summer, he is bound by the well-understood laws of respect, etiquette, honour, gallantry, love, and all their little jealousies, to imprint his own lips upon the precise spot where those were placed which preceded him, and then to take off the very last drop in the glass.

We consumed a bottle of rum and some bottles of spruce-beer, with a few cakes and *dulces*, in this friendly manner, before the order for dinner was given. Slaves, male and female, black, tawny, copper, and mulatto, then entered the room, bearing ponderous dishes of silver, with soups, meats, and vegetables, and covered every vacant spot upon the table, to which the guests now drew nigh with an unlimited profusion of ceremonious bows, and squeezed themselves as well as they could, with pinioned arms, into the few inches of space allotted to each. I was among the fortunate who obtained a seat to their satisfaction; on my right was the Peruvian Minister Plenipo, and on my left a very handsome, plump, and provokingly brilliant-

eyed young lady, of whose attention and conversation, however, I had no share; both being entirely engrossed by her left-hand neighbour, a respectable shopkeeper, whose insinuating manners and huge whiskers had gained him admission into the Eden of domestic life, where this young lady lived in the affection of her husband, adorned with all that earth and heaven could invent to make her amiable in his eyes, when one day,—'may that returning day be night!'—this wily shopkeeper presented his unsuspecting victim with—while I tell it do I live!—with six pair of Parisian silk stockings! received in a consignment of goods from Buenos Ayres. From that moment the sanctity of the marriage-vow was forgotten, and —— but that has nothing to do with the dinner, which bore undeniable testimony to the plenteousness of the markets of Potosi, and at the same time conferred imperishable honour on the Negro artist who composed and amalgamated the hundred and one dishes of this sumptuous feast, worthy to gratify the sensuality of a Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo. At the dinner-table sundry little compliments, constituting the etiquette of society, must also be given and received with all goodliness of manner. If you happen to be helped to any pecu-

liarly well-dressed dish, you must first praise it aloud, in order to enhance its value, and to attract the notice of the company; you then stretch across the table with a tit-bit on the end of your fork, presenting it to whomsoever you wish to distinguish by this mark of favour, and who, in accepting it, retains *your* fork; but, as a ratification of the act, returns to you *his* or *hers*. At the second course, these compliments become general; when, in the space of a few minutes, you may have been favoured with a mouthful from every fork at the table, whilst your own has gone the round of the whole company. Plates and dishes being removed, bottles of claret, of Frontignac, of cider, and of spruce-beer, were intermingled upon the table, and the speedy consumption of the beverage proved it to be agreeable to the guests. Toasts and sentiments, accompanied by speeches, went their round as rapidly as the bottles. The Americans are peculiarly fond of table oratory. When it has happened that two or three candidates for the attention of the company have risen at the same time, I have seen momentary disputes respecting the right of speaking *first*, and on those occasions I observed that the President generally settled the difference by speaking himself. The English mode of expressing

applause, "Hip! hip! hip! Hurra! hurra! hurra!" has been adopted in America, and the uproar of a dinner-party there, is not exceeded by that of the happiest midnight revellers at the London Tavern; neither is it an uncommon thing to see every glass upon the table broken, or dashed against the walls of the apartment—the climax of joyous feeling and satisfaction at what has been said, implying that the subject is too good ever again to suffer the same glasses to be defiled by being made to contain a bumper to any less acceptable sentiment.

At this merry meeting, we hip, hip, hipped, and hurra'd to the honour of Bolivar, Sucre, Mr. Canning, and other *distinguidos*, whose names gave rise to an infinity of patriotic speeches, and to the emptying of numberless bottles, which elevated the whole company to the highest pitch of hilarity and good-will. It would require every page in my book to note with deserving accuracy all the toasts and sentiments of patriotism, love, and loyalty, with their accompanying speeches, that were given in the course of this happy night; some of them exceedingly *à-propos*, and delivered with a feeling corresponding to the subject. My toast was received with uproarious applause,

three times three, and the destruction of every glass in the room. I took the opportunity of proposing it immediately after the health of several distinguished generals had been given, and of course prefaced it with an eloquent speech, the idiom and pronunciation of which afforded a fair share of amusement, as those of most persons do, when publicly declaiming in a foreign language, particularly when straining to rival all other speakers in the flowery beauties of oratory. My toast, however, was faultless,—it was really perfection! Here it is in English—" May this land, so favoured by Providence, long know no other Generals, than General Peace, General Industry, and General Happiness!"* Every glass in the room was shivered to atoms in an instant.

Mr. Scriviner also gave an excellent toast, with due applause—" Gaiety and Innocence!" —bravo! bravo! This was followed by one equally good, and to the full as much in character, from the shopkeeper—" *Las rosas del amor, sin las espinas!*" (The roses of love without the thorns!) He made an attempt in the ardour of his enthusiasm to cause the glasses to

* Que esta tierra, tan favorecida por la Providencia, no conosca, por largo tiempo, otros Generales, que el General Paz, el General Industria, y el General Felicidad!

be again broken, but the lady on his right succeeded in restraining him, by herself proposing a toast, which, combining patriotism and love, came with infinite grace from the lips of a charming young woman—"*El amor de la Libertad, y la libertad del Amor*!" (The love of Liberty, and the liberty of Love!) Unbounded applause, in which the shopkeeper became frantic.

The secretary of legation, a man of about five-and-forty, of a full corporation and rough aspect, who had accompanied the Peruvian minister, now called out lustily *Brindo! brindo!* (that is, I propose a toast! I drink to, &c.) "Fill your glasses, Señores," which was obeyed "*nemine contradicente.*"* The secretary now stood up, as did all the company, with their glasses in their hands, outstretched before them over the table, as if proud to exhibit the amplitude of the mirth-inspiring draught, they were each prepared to swallow. "Señores!" said the secretary, "having drunk to all the living heroes of the age, I now propose a toast to the memory of those who fell in the glorious struggle that has established the liberty of our country!"—By a simultaneous movement, sudden as a shock of electricity, the contents of

* The English of which is—"Every one filled a bumper."

every glass, except the speaker's, were drunk off, and hip! hip! hip! hurrah! followed, in spite of the angry vociferations and gesticulations of the secretary, in his endeavours to prevent this interruption, which a general mistake had occasioned, for it appeared that he had only made a full stop in his speech, when we imagined he had concluded his toast. The secretary insisted upon his right to be heard to the end, and called on the president, who was now smoking a cigar, to order all the glasses to be replenished, which was done without any remarkable reluctance on the part of the too hasty *convives*. The speech was recommenced, and, after a very moving invocation to the shades of numerous departed heroes of the Revolution, the natural harshness of the secretary's tone of voice gradually mellowed; it lowered, faltered, and at last sunk into a pathetic softness; his eyes opened and shut, or to use another term, winked, as eyes do wink when striving to keep in what is forcing its way out. The muscles of his face trembled like the strings of a guitar, whilst his under-lip was drawn downward into the resemblance of a badly written w. A pin's head dropping on the floor might have been distinctly heard in the silence which now pervaded the company,

many of whose countenances had in pure sympathy assumed the mournful expression of the speaker's. "Señores," continued he, "in calling to mind the departed patriots of my country, I cannot refrain from—" (here he blew his nose; after which, appearing to have obtained relief, he distinctly repeated)—"I cannot refrain from—" but immediately another pause ensued, evidently occasioned by the quivering of his nether lip, which seemed to communicate its vibration to the majority of under lips in company. Pocket-handkerchiefs in various innocently artful ways were employed by many to conceal their emotion. "Señores—excuse me," continued the secretary, "for I cannot repress my feelings—when—I—mention—among the true—patriots of this country—now—no—more!—one, who—in his—his—eighty-seventh year—took the sorrows of his countrymen—so much to heart—that he—he—he—die—died. And that man—Señores—was—my—gra—grandfather, well known—to many of you." Here the loud sobs of the speaker prevented farther articulation, the whole company at the same time sharing in his affliction. The lady on my left sunk back in her chair, and would have fallen to the ground, had not the arms of the shopkeeper received her in a reclining po-

sition, in which she remained for some moments, whilst he hung in anxiety over her, mingling on her bedewed cheek the briny evidence of his own woe. For my own part, although I thought it nothing extraordinary for a grandson past forty to lose a grandfather past eighty, I could not for the life of me restrain my tears, which I felt trickling down my cheeks like drops of dew on a pane of glass. An indifferent, or cold-hearted person, might possibly have been amused in witnessing so sudden a transition from boisterous hilarity to such a dismal scene of general weeping, and which, no doubt, may be attributed in as great a degree to the effects of the wine as to the effects of the speech; for wine can elevate or depress the spirits and excite joy or grief, according to the sensibility of the nerves upon which it acts. Be that as it may, we all wiped away our tears, and speedily resumed our innocent mirth, which, at a later period of the evening, was attempted to be again interrupted by a gentleman, who, conceiving that living parents were as fully entitled to respect as those that were dead, proposed the memory of his venerable mother, but all sympathy, ceremony, and respect, had been drowned long before; and, after every exertion on his part to obtain the silent

attention of the company to no purpose, he was obliged to sit down and drink alone his toast of filial gratitude, unpitied and unnoticed ; for the eyes of all were directed to the lady and the shopkeeper, who had risen and commenced waltzing round the room, to the melody of a flute, accompanied by the jingling of glasses, the clapping of hands, and other such bacchanalian music, the loudness of which made ample amends for the deficiency of harmony. The night was well advanced before I took my leave of this jovial assembly, and, in returning home, although I distinctly saw two moons, their light was not sufficient to prevent me from losing my way, and wandering through the streets in great perplexity a full hour, though at starting I was not ten minutes' walk from my own door.

CHAPTER X.

A last letter.—Bones of ancient giants of Tarija.—Horse grenadier-guards of Colombia.—A bold scheme boldly executed.—Military rencounter.—Province of Tarija.

April 28th. To recover the amount of a few hundred dollars in bills, which had been transmitted to me on an individual in Chuquisaca, I set out for that city, and owing to the friendly interference of Don Manuel Martin de la Santa Cruz, whom I had occasion to mention in his office of Provost of the University, on my first visit to that city, I succeeded in recovering three hundred and fifty dollars. I remained but one day in Chuquisaca, then returned to Potosi, where, by the sale of ores previously extracted from our mines, together with a fund arising from the disposal of part of my private property, I have at length been enabled to leave with Mr. Garda the means of

paying the rent of Linares' house when it becomes due, retaining a sufficient sum to bear my expenses to Buenos Ayres. When I had accomplished this anxiously-looked-for object, I lost not a moment in writing my last letter from Potosi to the Directors, in the following terms:—

"Long since informed by letters from your Board, that no pecuniary assistance from England must under any 'consideration be expected,' and, by letters from your Chief Commissioner, that he 'cannot send me one rial,' I have no alternative, to avoid the last stage of distress, but to depart from Potosi whilst I have the means of defraying the expenses of the long and lonely journey before me. I propose leaving this to-morrow for Tarija, where I have a friend, on whose hospitality I must throw myself, until the road to Buenos Ayres is re-opened to the public, political commotions having for some time past completely intercepted all communication with the lower provinces.

"My late companions in disappointment have dispersed and gone where each thought he could best earn his bread. For myself, I have remained at my post, until all support and even hope of support have been withdrawn from me, but notwithstanding the difficulties with which we have been beset, it is a consolation to know, that in transferring to Mr. Garda the authority I possessed in the absence of the Chief Commissioner, I have left nothing for that gentleman to perform; he merely waits the final directions of your Board respecting this ill-fated enterprize.

"Very small means would have sufficed to carry the object of this Association (under new restrictions) into full

and prosperous effect, which must prove how culpably negligent the Directors of it have been, to have so suddenly and effectually occasioned its ruin, by acts wholly and solely proceeding from themselves.—I have the honour to be," &c.

The friend alluded to in the foregoing letter, is Colonel O'Conor, who had recommended me to take the road to Tarija, and offered me an asylum in his house, until it should be ascertained that the passage to Buenos Ayres was free and safe to travel. The province of Tarija, I have already had occasion to mention, and hope soon to be able to speak of it from personal observation; for the present, I shall only remark, that it is particularly celebrated for bones and even whole skeletons of prodigious size, which have been found from time to time in ravines, and in the sides of banks and precipices. Throughout America, to this day, they are known and talked of as "*huesos de los gigantes antiguos de Tarija*," (bones of the ancient giants of Tarija.) I have frequently heard the gravest discussions upon them, and those who are a little incredulous as to the existence of a former race of giants endeavour to account for the growth or increase of the bones, by reason of the properties of the soil; but on no occasion did I ever hear it mentioned that they belonged to any beast, or at all doubted, that

they were any other than human bones; nay, I have even heard the well-known, the learned, and scientific Doctor Redhead, talk dubiously of "the shoulder-blade," "the knee-joint," "the tooth &c," of a skeleton of one of the giants of Tarija.*

I had for some time past been in correspondence with my friend Colonel O'Conor, on this and other subjects, and as his letters had the effect of dispersing ennui,—that painful sensation of a dull and frigid existence, the suffering of which, like a weight of lead upon the brain, I have latterly been compelled to bear—I shall here introduce those letters, in the hope that they will likewise avert ennui from the reader; though after the excellent entertainment I so lately gave him at the conclusion of the last chapter, I cannot suppose he is so soon sleeping the siesta.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"SOON after the receipt of your last letter, I rode twelve leagues from Tarija to inspect a skeleton, of which I had

* Mention is very gravely made in the ancient history of Peru, by Garcillaso and others, of the existence of a race of giants, all males, on the borders of Atacama, and who, having excited the wrath of Heaven, were ultimately destroyed by thunder and lightning. This tale, arrayed in the dignity of history, has kept alive the belief that generally prevails as to the *huesos de gigantes*.

received information. I found it lying on the edge of a ravine of white stony earth, the head carried away by the torrent which the rains annually occasion. I made every effort to raise it as it was, but each bone mouldered into dust on clearing away the clay. It was crippled in the attitude in which it lay, but even so it measured fourteen feet from the shoulder-blade, which was apparent, to the foot.*

"The *cavildo* (corporation) here have laid claim to another skeleton, which is not yet taken up: they say it is perfect, and that the bones are petrified. They hope to sell it to some foreign museum, and expect to get ten thousand dollars for it. A Franciscan friar has given me a jaw-tooth, which I keep on my table for you; it weighs nearly two pounds without the roots, and is two inches and a half in diameter."

The following letter was upon a very different subject from the foregoing, and in order to make it fully understood, it becomes necessary to give some account of the event to which it alludes.

In one of the provinces of the Republic of Bolivia, called Cochabamba, and in the town of the same name was quartered the Colombian regiment of cavalry, "*Los granaderos à caballo de la guardia de Colombia*," which, for gallant and exemplary conduct, was perhaps the first among the regiments that most distinguished

* The opinions, or at least the *doubts*, of my friend, coincide with those of Dr. Redhead, and with those of the whole nation.

themselves in the war of independence. I have frequently heard "the horse grenadier-guards of Colombia" praised, in terms similar to those which, in England, we have all heard applied to the Scots-Greys, the Life-Guards, or any other particularly distinguished regiment. In a word, it was a "crack corps," and both officers and men were proud of the honour of belonging to it. It occurred one day, that the commanding officer, "for something or for nothing," struck one of the men: this called forth observations from one of the lieutenants, named Matute, in terms that occasioned his being placed under arrest. Matute was a Mulatto, who had signalized himself by feats of the most undaunted bravery in repeated engagements with the enemy, and very naturally had become a great favourite with the men, whom he had often led on to victory. With the officers of his regiment he was not on such good terms, whether on account of a haughty and reserved manner peculiar to himself, or from wounded feelings in consequence of having been passed over in a general promotion, I never distinctly ascertained. However, when under arrest, he determined upon leaving his regiment, and when released, he lost no time in maturing and executing the plan which

he had projected for that purpose. Judging from his own feelings, that a soldier, accustomed to a life of activity, victory, and booty, would readily abandon his quiet country quarters for any opportunity of returning to the former, Matute saw in the existing state of things in the Lower Provinces, then at war one with the other, a fair field for his desperate ambition, and thought that with a handful of men, trained and courageous as himself, he might turn the fortune of war in favour of whatever State he pleased, and afterwards, with his sword still unsheathed, exact his own terms for the benefit conferred. These designs he communicated to such of the non-commissioned officers of his corps as he well knew he could confide in; they, in their turn, on the same principle, secured about a hundred men in the grand plot of desertion. To this party, in one or two secret meetings, Matute explained how the scheme was to be conducted, named himself Commandant-General, appointed captains and other officers from the number, and held out hopes and promises too dazzling to be resisted by men with whom the nicest point of honour consisted in the dexterity with which each could manage the point of his lance; for the *granaderos à caballo* car-

ried tremendous lances, and were celebrated for their fatal expertness in the use of them.

The day fixed for abandoning their colours for ever was that on which Matute was officer of the guard at the barracks. This fine regiment consisted of between three and four hundred men, consequently the majority knew nothing of the conspiracy; had they suspected anything of the kind, it would have been easy to prevent it, but no such suspicion could exist in such a regiment; even if that were possible, the determination, the dignity, and coolness, of Matute were sufficient to allay it; no distrust could attach to the conduct of so distinguished an officer.

At a particular opportunity, which, like every other circumstance attending the adventure, was of course well and carefully concerted, Matute gave orders for a certain portion of the regiment to "saddle, and turn out, in marching order." Many of the non-commissioned officers and men present appeared for a moment amazed and confounded; no trumpet had sounded, the time was unusual, the order irregular, but still, nothing like *suspicion* existed in the mind of any man; the command of their officer was peremptory, and their discipline

such as to induce obedience, to which they were still farther encouraged by the alacrity with which they perceived so many of their comrades obey the order. Within ten minutes of time, two hundred men, with Lieutenant Matute at their head, were on their march; they passed the barracks where two regiments of infanty were quartered—"*Adonde diablo van ustedes?*" (Where the devil are ye going?) was a question put a hundred different times to the horse grenadier-guards, and to which many of the latter honestly replied, "*Quien sabe!*" Others in the plot, gave such answers as best suited their purpose.

They passed on unmolested and unsuspected through the town of Cochabamba, and when about a league beyond it, Matute halted his men, declared his design to those who were not already acquainted with it, and said that "all who wished to return, were at full liberty so to do, and hoped that none would follow him who had not valour and perseverance to acquire fame, fortune, and independence, by means of their own swords."

Of those who had been lately surprised into this scheme, some returned to their quarters, and some gladly adhered to the standard of freebooters, whose whole force, amounting to

one hundred and fifty men, with their Commandant-general at their head, took the road to Salta, about five hundred miles distant.

It is unnecessary to mention the consternation excited in the Government, and, indeed, throughout the country, by this desperate proceeding; suffice it to say, that all the means taken, prompt and feasible as they were, proved ineffectual in arresting the march of the deserters. The only check they met with, I now proceed to relate in the words of Colonel O'Conor, to whose letter I previously alluded.

"You will, I am sure, excuse my not having answered your kind inquiring letters sooner, when you are informed of the busy time I have passed in the last three weeks, marching, ambuscading, fighting, and defeated, but not shamefully. Out of sixty-six men, I had thirty-four killed and wounded, lost one officer, another wounded, and myself taken prisoner.

"You are aware, that on the 14th November, the *Granaderos à caballo de la guardia de Colombia* executed their design in Cochabamba, and steered their course towards the territory of Salta, by the road called *despoblada*, which affords better pasture for horses, is a better road than the main road, and has fewer villages.

"On the 27th of the same month, they entered the village of Tolapampa, which they plundered, church and all; thence they marched towards San Cristoval de Lipez, and thence to Rosario, where I was in wait for them. On their whole line of march they committed every excess that op-

portunity afforded. It is true, they took no gold watches nor diamond rings, in a country where the richest inhabitant has nothing more than a bone spoon, an earthen pot to boil his maize, and a home-manufactured poncho to cover his body. But this I can assure you, that every soldier had on him one of those ponchos on entering Rosario, which proves that they took whatever they could get. Every traveller they met on their march they made prisoner, and forced him to accompany them, in order to prevent any report being given as to the direction they were taking; so that my meeting with them in Rosario was owing to my having reconnoitred all that country, and obtained a knowledge of where they *must* pass.

"On the 6th of December, before daybreak, I had my little party of sixty men in four ambuscades, in different parts of the village of Rosario. At about six, the *granaderos* appeared, having marched thirteen leagues the night before, and were within thirty paces of the church where I had my strongest picket posted, when one of my soldiers, who was placed with eleven others and a serjeant in the mouth of a mine, raised his head above the surface to see the enemy enter; a corporal of the latter espied him, and left his file to see who was there, when our soldier, to save himself, discharged his firelock at the corporal, who fell dead on the spot. On this, my serjeant and eleven stood up, and one of the grenadiers cried out to Matute, who was within pistol-shot of the church, "*Mi Comandante! mira! que son del batallon Ayacucho, que no sabe volver caras — vamonos!*"* At this they all took to flight. I pursued them for

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* My Commandant! see! those are of the battalion of Ayacucho, which knows not how to face about from an enemy—let us be off!"

two leagues, through a ravine, where, (in consequence of the rarity of the air, and also, it is said, the mineral exhalations from the soil,) no man or horse could continue at a pace beyond a walk, for in ten yards they would be breathless and exhausted. At the end of these two leagues my little corps was dispersed, but we pursued them closely, thinking we had no more to encounter than those we had seen enter the village, when, on a sudden, turning round a projecting corner in the ravine, and ascending one of its sides, we came upon their bivouac, where there were as many more, (in all about 150,) on the alert, some saddling their horses, others preparing to charge. As soon as I arrived in sight of them, Matute, turning with eight or nine lancers, pursued me to the edge of the side of the ravine which I had ascended, and which was very steep; Matute, who knew me, was crying out after me—"*Ingles Diablo, parase allí, à V. no queremos mal.*"* On which, I turned my horse's head short round and told him to come on alone, but he stood and ordered the lancers to advance against me: in this charge they did not gain their point. On getting to the bottom of the ravine, I found some of our men dispersed, and, having collected them on the opposite height, I sent my adjutant with orders to the officer commanding the party, (who had also ascended the side of the ravine, and was in sight at two hundred paces distance,) to fall back on the position I had taken up, with about ten of the men I had collected. Scarcely had my adjutant gained the plain, when the enemy began to charge and completely routed our men, killing my adjutant in the act of taking the order. They pursued our party to the edge of the plain that

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* "Stop there! you English devil, to *you* we wish no harm."

looked into the ravine, which was a sharp rock and precipice of about twenty feet fall, down which our men threw themselves, protected by the fire I kept up from the opposite side about 150 paces distant, and by this fortunate operation, prevented their advance on our men, who I now ordered to retreat by the heights towards the village of Rosario. While I was in the rear of the party, and about halfway down the side of the ravine, whence I could discover the direction of the road, I saw a party of grenadiers advancing in pursuit of me. I tell you the plain truth, I determined to conquer or die in the attempt to defend ourselves, and when in the act of calling out to our men to stand, two of the best-mounted of the grenadiers came on and summoned me to surrender: I had no such intention. I presented my pistol to my head, and pulled the trigger, but, from the galloping during the day, the priming had fallen out, and it did not give fire. On seeing this, one of them called out to me "*Mi Coronel, no haga esta! no me conoce a mi? yo soy Torres, que ha sido asistente del Coronel Brown. Vengase que no le haré daño, ni permitese que se le haga.*"* In the mean time, others were gaining ground on me and had come up. I really expected death at this instant, and begged of Torres, whom I now recognised, to despatch me at once, to which he answered—"*Mire, mi Coronel, que la vida es dulce, y enfin, yo no soy capaz de quitar le la, porque V. ha sido siempre amigo de nosotros;*"† and in-

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* "My Colonel, don't do that! do you not know me? I am Torres, who was servant to Colonel Brown. Come, I shall do you no harm, nor permit others to do it."

† "Hark ye, Colonel, life is precious; and in short, I am incapable of depriving you of it, because you have always been a friend to us."

vited me to go and present myself to Matute, to which I answered, that could never be, and that he should kill me first. On which he and the others each took something of what I had, my spurs, cloak, pistols, sword, the contents of my pockets, and my horse, equipped as he was, and left me. I sat me down on the hill side, and looked at them riding away. Soon after, in despair and in a fever, I entered the village to arrange an hospital for my wounded men, and take measures for their subsistence. I found twenty-eight of our men and two of the enemy wounded. My adjutant, my only bugle, five of my men, and eleven of the enemy lay dead on the field.

"Never did I undertake a plan that promised so favourably as this, until the first fatal shot which our soldier fired, and which gave warning to the enemy; half a minute later, and not a single soul of those who were coming into the village would have escaped. Such, my dear friend, are the chances of war. Matute and his companions entered Salta, where the Governor immediately employed them, and marched them for Tucuman to co-operate with a Colonel Bedoya, who was tranquillizing that province. On their march, they were gained over to the party of Gorrite and Puche, men of influence in the province of Salta, and opposed to the Governor, against whom they now turned, and drove him from his government."

After deposing the Governor of Salta, Matute proclaimed himself military chief of that city, and in the hope of acquiring party and influence, married into a family of the first respectability and consideration: the match was opposed by all the relations of the young lady,

for it must not be supposed that such a character as Matute, however great the political consequence he might acquire, was likely to receive the countenance of the sober and well-disposed members of society. His late conduct could not in any country have excited stronger sentiments of disapprobation than were generally expressed here. His corps of lancers gave him a power and authority, neither to be shaken, nor easily resisted by an assemblage of shoeless and half-naked peasantry, called soldiers, who were much better acquainted with the use of the *laso* than with that of pikes, sabres, and fire-arms.

With respect to Matute's marriage, we know that distinguished gallantry is justly a favourable recommendation to the fair; and, viewing only the heroic features of his character, the lady discovered in them what compensated in her mind, no doubt, for the forfeited affections of her parents and the abandonment of all her friends. Are we not told by the "monarch of the realms of mind," even he who, with subtle penetration, pierced through the dark envelopments of the human heart, that nothing in the world "can more prevail in man's commendation with women than report with *valour?*" The husband of the lady, however,

was not destined for the sweet captivity of domestic life: in a few days after his marriage, he voluntarily relinquished his government, deserted his *dulce domum*, and marched at the head of his grenadier-lancers to Tucuman, where he sided with that Government against the invading armies of rival provinces. By these he was defeated, after having distinguished himself in two pitched battles, to the admiration of both friend and foe.

The province of Tarija, being scarcely known in Europe, even by name, and not having been visited by any modern traveller, I am induced to think that the following extracts from other letters from my friend will not be deemed uninteresting.

"I look forward with much pleasure to seeing you here; you cannot but feel delighted with this country after so long and gloomy a residence in Potosi; why you still continue lingering there is to me rather surprising. I promise you an honest Irish welcome; so the sooner you come and enjoy it, the happier shall I consider myself. For the present, I shall only say a few words on your favourite subjects, and first of the bones——now for the bones!

"I went to see the skeleton I before mentioned to you, and dug up part of the head, a curious article; the under and upper jaw of the right side, with their corresponding teeth, are perfect, as also part of the neck. These remnants

could not be lifted from the ground by three men, consequently could not be carried on the back of any mule. The rest of the body I have not yet dug for: that which I raised we with difficulty moved to a distance, behind a bush for concealment, as the high road passes near to the grave of the monster.

"With respect to minerals, this province does not boast of any; but the river, which runs close by the town, brings with it every flood a quantity of stones, (quartz) with small lumps of gold in them. I have got one or two of those stones for you, and am on the look-out for other curiosities, with which, and the giant's jaw-bone and grinders, I hope to greet you on your arrival.

"As soon as the rains are over, which will be in the month of May, I propose marching to the Eastern frontier of this province, towards the country of the Indian tribes of Chiriguano, Pilcomayo, and Tobas. This province is probably the most fertile in the world, though a great portion of it is to this day unappropriated and unowned. There is in the interior an ancient mission of the Jesuits, lately belonging to the Franciscan friars, and now suppressed; the convent is a very good and convenient building, with many leagues of country belonging to it. If I like the situation, I intend to propose buying the property from the Government, and in that case I promise that you shall find no difficulty in making yourself master of an estate in the neighbourhood. I shall defer my visit to the mission until your arrival, when the Prefect and others will accompany us thither; we shall be supplied with good horses, a tent, abundance of provisions, and good wine, which is made here nearly as good as Burgundy.

"The information I have obtained of the 'land of promise' is this—'The river that runs through the country is of

the very best water, and abounds with fish. Forests of magnificent timber are within two leagues of the convent. The climate is hot in summer, and cold in winter, and moist at all times. The finest cattle you ever saw come from thence, and the breed of horses is excellent.' But in a very short time, I hope, we shall know all the particulars from our own observation: for myself, I do assure you, it is my firm intention, as soon as I possibly can, to turn my sword into a ploughshare."

CHAPTER XI.

Adieu to Potosi.—Unexpected welcome at the village of Otavi.—Diamonds and pearls in abundance, but no bread.—Valley of Cinti.—Judge Advocate of the High Court of Judicature and his three daughters.—A wearisome journey.—Village of San Lorenzo.—Hospitable reception at Tarija.—Robert de Vere Earl of Oxford and the Conde de Toxo Marquis of Yavi.

April 29th, 1827, I bade adieu to Potosi. At three o'clock in the morning I was clattering through the steep and narrow streets, with my cavalcade of refractory mules and spirited horses, accompanied by two peones, who had long been in my service. The latter had a glass each of aguardiente, and the former a double feed of maize, so that, on setting out, the whole party were under a temporary degree of excitement, which occasioned self-will on one hand and vociferation on the other, to a pitch so alarmingly clamorous, as to rouse many a head from its pillow and cause it to be thrust

in amazement through the window as we passed. On leaving the city for the last time, I experienced a strange mixture of delight and sorrow. An exile freed from banishment could not have set out from his dreary and uninteresting abode with spirits more elated by joy than mine; but then it was impossible not to feel their buoyancy occasionally checked by sensations of deep regret, in reflecting on the unexpected and disastrous termination of my mission.

The morning was dark, with a piercing cold wind, and the shallow streams we crossed were frozen so hard as to bear the animals on the ice without its breaking. At night we stopped at the hut of an Indian, having accomplished about thirty miles.

30th. Even at this short distance from Potosi we felt very sensibly the difference of temperature; and, although summer was gone and winter approaching, the freshness of the morning was delightful.

On preparing to march, I was sadly mortified to find that my first day's journey should have already deprived me of the use of two of my mules, which were so severely injured by the pack-saddles, as to make it necessary to hire asses for the conveyance of my baggage;

and their wearisome pace did not in any way contribute to interest or enliven the solitude of this day's journey over a succession of barren mountains.

At nightfall I arrived at the remains of the village of Otavi, and, on inquiring where I might find a lodging, an Indian pointed to a large house, at the ponderous gate of which I knocked, and was admitted into a spacious court, where several persons were sitting on a bench smoking cigars. One of them immediately approached and said, " He supposed I was a *caminante* (traveller) seeking a lodging for the night."—" Exactly so," said I.—" Dismount" said he, at the same time taking hold of my horse's bridle, as a civil welcome whilst I alighted. " Step forward," said he, pointing to the opposite side of the court, " to that saloon, and you will there find my father the Marquis, who will be happy to receive you."—The Marquis ! said I to myself, *quien diablo es eso !* — I entered the saloon, (large enough and sufficiently furnished for a barrack,) and saw sitting on the mud-bench, which is usually built against the walls of apartments in this country, an elderly and highly respectable-looking gentleman, leaning on a table covered with a piece of old carpet, and on it a

cat which he seemed to be caressing. I had scarcely made my bow, when the gentleman rose, and with hand extended for the friendly shake, approached me, saying, "Ola! Señor Don Edmondo! you are welcome to Otavi." I was at once both surprised and gratified at this reception, for I had no expectation of finding an acquaintance here, nor was I aware of the existence of any such titled personage in the Republic. It proved, however, that I had a previous slight acquaintance at Potosi with the Marquis of Otavi, though I knew him only as a private individual, occasionally meeting him without knowing his name.

The Marquis of Otavi showed me to a very decent out-house bed-chamber. "Here," said he, "you may order your *muchacho* to spread your bed, whilst we go to supper, which is now ready. We then returned to the saloon, where a ragged peone spread a dirty towel on the table, and was directed to "put *the* chair for the cavallero." Another peone arrived with an armful of dingy silver plates, which he scattered and clattered on the table with several forks and a knife. Five of us now managed to place ourselves at the table, and immediately a deep silver dish was laid before us with *chupe*, *i. e.* bits of mutton, potatoes, onions, and *aji*, boiled

together, composing a very good family dish. Some broiled ribs of mutton followed as the second course; a silver goblet with water stood in the middle of the table for the use of the guests, and here ended the Marquis's entertainment, with which all must have been very fairly satisfied, if the meal was relished with an appetite such as I gave unequivocal proofs of having brought with me. I was, indeed, a little disappointed in seeing water only for the beverage, rich and wholesome as it was repeatedly pronounced to be; because, at Cinti, a few leagues distant, excellent wine is made, and might be had cheap. Besides, the estate of the Marquis furnishes grapes in abundance, together with every other production of Nature; a circumstance, which, on reflection, also induced me to think that mine host's table might have been a little more plenteously served. The noble owner of an estate, extending in one direction upwards of *thirty leagues*, and so near to such a market as that of Potosi, where every article of necessity or luxury at one time met with a ready sale, and where there is still a very fair consumption, might be expected to have acquired a taste for more convenience and better cheer than was here to be met with. It is true that, in the revolution, the Marquis

suffered very heavy losses, from being plundered at different times, by different parties, of horned cattle, horses, mules, and sheep, to no less an amount than thirty thousand head, exclusive of contributions, which he said he cheerfully and voluntarily paid in support of the cause of independence. Still, the estate and a very numerous tenantry remained, which induces the mere superficial observer of things to suppose, that no plausible excuse can exist for so much wretchedness and misery as were apparent in the whole establishment. The Marquis, too, is himself a European, having been born in the fine province of Malaga, in Spain; where also, it is no more than reasonable to suppose, he might have acquired habits of domestic decency and comfort suitable to respectable life.

I have said that I received a hearty welcome; nothing could be more cordial, but I am not on that account to suppress the truth in describing the manners and customs of a people of whom it is my wish to give a faithful representation; and this sketch may be considered a tolerably accurate outline of the general mode of living here among that class of people, which in England we denominate the first. If we take the trouble to consider this subject with reference

to its consequences, as an example to the lower orders, we cannot but admit that the natives of South America have had but indifferent models to copy from, and that they have yet to learn, not only the elements of common industry, but also much of what, in civilized society, constitutes the ease and happiness of social life.

May 1st, delightful weather; at daylight I departed from Otavi, my train augmented by several asses, which it became requisite to hire from the Indians to supply the place of my mules, that were severely galled by their pack-saddles, owing to the carelessness of the peones in putting them on.

The road lay through a wonderfully singular country, of volcanic appearance; at one time I found myself on the pinnacle of a mountain, looking down upon ten thousand lesser mountains, extending as far as the eye could reach in every direction round me; and directly beneath lay the Indian village of San Lucas, but from which, by the winding path that led to it, I was full three leagues distant. I did not arrive at this place until sunset, nor my donkey train until long past midnight, when I was roused from my lodging "at the sign of the moon," by the Indians driving the animals into a porch, at the entrance of which I lay, indulg-

Engelmann & Graeby

SCENE NEAR SAN LUCAS.

ing in the full enjoyment of luxurious sleep. I felt no apprehension of losing a single article of my baggage: it had been confided to the Indians, and in their charge required neither guards, nor swords, nor pistols, to protect it, or to insure its safe delivery.

2d. A tiresome ride of nine leagues over barren mountains, without meeting with a single human being; nor was it until long after nightfall, that, attracted by the light of a fire, I arrived at a solitary Indian hut, the only habitation I had seen in the course of the day's journey. Here I obtained barley-straw for my animals, and half a roasted goat for myself and peones, after which feast, wrapped in my poncho, I slept soundly until daylight, when the sharp mountain-air roused me to horse.

3rd. A good road for three leagues to the remains of the village of Muyokiri, where I stopped till evening, to wait the arrival of my sober-paced, long-eared train, which I far outstripped in my ride of yesterday, and had not since either seen or heard of. I alighted at the door of a house, where I saw a decent-looking man, to whom I addressed myself for the means of refreshment, and when I asked for bread, he replied with a smile, "Bread! that is an article, cavallero, absolutely unknown

here," (*absolutamente desconocido aca*).—"What, then, pray, can I have to eat?" said I.—"I have some sheep there," said he, pointing to a distant mountain, "but nothing else." Sheep on a distant mountain, thought I, rather dismayed at the information, may form a very interesting feature in a landscape; but to a hungry traveller not in search of the picturesque, they can afford but a sorry consolation in the absence of all other means of support on his journey. However, "nothing else" being to be had, I paid a dollar, when an Indian was dispatched with a *laso* to the distant mountain, and in something more than an hour we were all regaled and satisfied with a *chupé* and roast mutton.

The decent-looking man to whom "bread was here absolutely unknown," and who had "sheep and nothing else," was lord of the manor; his estate extended in front of his own door to a distance of four leagues, and part of this estate was very valuable, from its vineyards, which afforded him annually a considerable stock of wine and brandy for exportation.

The house in which he was living with his wife, a respectable-looking woman, and a family of children, was a wretched hovel, and yet, in this state of apparent misery, the fe-

males (as in the present instance), may frequently be seen with rings of diamonds, and necklaces of the most magnificent pearls. If plenty does not everywhere abound, the inhabitants have to blame themselves alone, for Nature in her bounty has left nothing to be required of her. A fruitful soil and fine climate are assuredly as much as industrious man needs for the first elements, at least, of those little comforts which contribute so materially to his enjoyment, and which, in this country, he might easily acquire. Towards evening I had the gratification of discovering at a distance, in a long broken line, winding with slow and sure pace along the shelving edge of a mountain, the whole of my asinine cavalcade, whose delay we began to attribute to disasters, for which there was no foundation but our own impatient suspicions. Having thus ascertained their approach, I left directions for their reception at Muyokiri, and continued my journey through a rich valley for three leagues, to a hut, where I obtained a fine fat duck as large as a moderate-sized goose, with abundance of lucern for my animals; and their satisfaction at good cheer for the night was as evident as my own.

4th. Before sunrise on this delightful morn-

ing I was again *en route*, and after passing some stupendous mountains, entered the narrow valley of Cinti, which, for a distance of nearly twenty leagues, is a continued vineyard, with a river running through the middle of it, on the banks of which were here and there small plantations of peach, fig, and other fruit trees. I arrived early in the town of Cinti, the situation of which is beautifully romantic, but was sadly disappointed in perceiving as much poverty and want as in any other town of less note. Its celebrity for wines and brandies, which are in very great demand, and are sent to all parts of Upper Peru, led me to expect bustle and business; of these, however, there was no appearance, neither was there any house for public accommodation; but I was recommended to a lodging in the house of Don Mariano, "Doctor of Laws and Judge-Advocate of the High Court of Judicature of Cinti," to whom I paid a shilling a-day for my apartments, without either table or chair. These deficiencies were amply compensated by every willingness on the part of the family to supply me with as good living as the place afforded at the rate of five shillings a-day, exclusive of bread, which was a separate charge: this necessary was made by the fair

hands, and sold as the perquisite, of the daughters of the Judge-Advocate of the High Court of Judicature, himself an exceedingly dark-complexioned man, though his three daughters were fair as the fairest of the fair in any northern clime of Europe. They were indeed fine young women, with forms and figures to attract admiration anywhere, except, I presume, at Cinti, where young men and old seemed as indifferent to what they had full opportunity of beholding, as the ladies themselves seemed unconscious of what they so gratuitously displayed. To me the sight was particularly interesting, for, as in South America, the ladies are seldom or ever seen without being closely covered up in shawls or handkerchiefs, I had not witnessed so light and airy a costume since I left England, the only country in the world where it is the fashion for ladies to exhibit their throats, shoulders, necks, and so forth, downwards, to the admiring gaze of all mankind.

It may have been an idle conceit, and I dare say it was, but still I thought, that in the house in which I lodged at Cinti I had a complete exemplification of the good old toast—'The three W's,'—that is, 'Woman, Wine, and Wisdom;'

for mine host sold wine of a most excellent quality at 1*s.* 3*d.* a bottle; of wisdom, (which, of course, means the law,) the Judge-Advocate would have given me as much as I pleased for half-a-crown—his customary fee was a shilling for that commodity: and as for his daughters, Virgins of the Sun! they were to be prized beyond fine gold, that is to say, they were, as all good and handsome young ladies are and ought to be, above any price.

5th. I remained this day at Cinti to repose; a reasonable indulgence after a journey of 140 miles.

6th. I remained this day at Cinti, to wait for a supply of bread, which the Virgins of the Sun were busily employed in making of the very best quality for my accommodation. This delay enabled me also to obtain a sufficient supply of animals, of which I now had more need than before, being minus two since my arrival here. One horse died under symptoms of having been poisoned by an herb, not very uncommon in this country, called '*Yerba tembladera*,' (the trembling herb,) which affects the animal that eats it with a violent trembling, generally terminating in death. The other misfortune had befallen one of my best mules, which had been so maimed by pack-saddles as

to render it absolutely useless, and for which I stopped five dollars from the wages of each of my peones, as a fine for their negligence.

7th. Having agreed with a muleteer to convey my baggage to Tarija, forty leagues distant, I took leave rather reluctantly of 'Woman, Wine, and Wisdom,' and left Cinti, continuing my journey through the narrow valley, hemmed in on each side by stupendous mural mountains, rising two, three, four, and in some places, I may fearlessly assert, five hundred feet above my head—the bleak and peaceable dominions of the solitary condor, for no living creature disputes them with him. In this province there is a celebrated mountain called the 'Cerro del Palmar,' from which the Indians from time to time have brought large masses of native gold; but, as those people preserve with inviolable secrecy among themselves, even from generation to generation, all discoveries of this nature, frequent attempts by the Spaniards to explore the treasures of el Cerro del Palmar have ended in disappointment. I stopped for the night at an Indian hut, where a few rials procured me every thing I required for man and horse.

8th. Left the valley and crossed the river San Juan, which in the rainy season swells so

as to become quite impassable: many evidences of the prodigious violence of the stream were to be seen along its banks. The river San Juan separates the provinces of Cinti and Tarija; on entering the latter, it is difficult to imagine that we are on the confines of one of the most fertile spots on the globe; for a perfect desert presents itself, in which even water is but very scantily found, and not a single habitation for many leagues. We stopped for the night in a deep sandy ravine, where we found but little shelter from a piercing cold wind that rushed through it from the bleak surrounding mountains.

9th. Still an unpeopled desert, the uninteresting features of which, contributed perhaps to the excessive fatigue we experienced in this day's journey, and which I note as the most laborious and wearisome I ever yet travelled. Before five o'clock in the morning we were on our march, and we never halted, except once, to slake our thirst at a brackish stream, having no inducement so to do until past ten at night, when we arrived exhausted at the village of San Lorenzo. We had been upwards of seventeen hours laboriously performing somewhat more than sixteen leagues, without any other refreshment than a bitter saline draught. It

would be a hopeless task to attempt to convey to those who have travelled only upon roads constructed on ‘ Macadam's principle,’ any idea of the pass that leads over the ridge of mountains which inclose the vale of Tarija. I conscientiously believe, that I rather diminish than magnify the difficulties of the road, in stating that the steps to the top of any steeple might be ascended and descended with as much ease and less peril to both man and beast. Our ascent on the northern side of this mountain-barrier was three leagues and a half, and our descent on the other side nearly seven leagues. In some places are what the natives call *saltos* (leaps) from the point of one rock to the shelving edge of another, which, till now, I imagined, could only have been performed by the chamois or guanaco. When upon the summit of this high ridge of the Cordillera, it was evident that we had invaded the territory of the condors; for in unusual numbers they soared fearlessly close above us, and swept with the rapidity of the thunderbolt round and round, as if challenging the intruders, or may-hap, surveying with their eyes of fire that which from habit they looked on as their prey. The bones and skeletons of mules and horses, that strewed the path and the bottoms of the

precipices, proved as well the frequency of accident, as that many a traveller had been compelled to abandon his wearied beast in this labyrinth of toil and danger.

When we arrived in the village of San Lorenzo, every door was shut, and every inhabitant indulging in repose, which I believe induced us to envy the more that comfort of which we ourselves felt so much in need; we therefore stopped at once in the market-place, and took up our quarters in the porch of the village church. The moon 'in cloudless majesty' afforded the light of day, and enabled us to discover a large field of lucern into which my first care was to turn the poor jaded and deserving animals; then, selecting the softest step at the door of the church, I laid myself down overpowered by sleep. The labour of scrambling up the mountain at one side, and the *saltos*, skips, and jumps, descending it at the other, having been mostly performed from necessity on foot, and under an intensely hot mid-day sun, caused my desire to eat to yield irresistibly to my desire to rest.

10th. The sun had risen high before either my peones or myself showed the slightest disposition to rouse from the luxurious trance in which we so happily passed the night at the

entrance of the sacred edifice of San Lorenzo, and had it not been that the tolling of the matin peal announced the necessity of vacating our situation in order to permit all well-disposed Christians within hearing of that summons to pass uninterrupted to their devotions, I doubt if we should not have slept on through the day; so true it is that

> "Weariness
> Can snore upon the flint, when resty Sloth
> Finds the down pillow hard."

Although this is the commencement of winter, the morning was soft and delightful as the finest day of May in Europe, which encouraged me to proceed to breakfast at Tarija, three leagues distant, and the road being through a flat luxuriant valley, it was not long before I found myself in the house of my friend colonel Don Francisco Burdett O'Conor, commandant-general of the army of the frontiers of Bolivia, who received me with all the warmth and hospitality of a genuine Hibernian. Every toil and trouble were in an instant forgotten on my part, or, if thought of, they tended only to increase the pleasure I experienced in the cordiality of my reception. I found the com-

mandant lodged in a very good house, in which he lived in a style highly respectable and comfortable.

The inhabitants of Tarija are descended from two or three families who came to this country from Rome, at the invitation of the Jesuits when they first settled here. Of this fact I thought I could discover in the features of *la Señora* O'Conor a very strong confirmation, and I must add, that a prettier and more animated little woman of eighteen I never saw on the shores of Italy. I might well feel a little surprise at finding my friend married, for he himself had never even thought of such an event, until a few days before my arrival, when the vicar of Tarija tied the indissoluble knot that now secures him for life in the golden yoke; and if my friend's life does not turn out what it promises to be, comfortable and happy, it will not be from want of prayers and good wishes throughout the province of Tarija.

The town contains about 2000 inhabitants; a peaceable community, who prefer sleeping the *siesta* to any occupation connected with arts or industry, which as yet have obtained no footing here. The partiality to a *delicieux repos* is considerably encouraged by the nature of the climate and the fruitfulness of the soil, which

requires only a little scratching at seed time, to yield, year after year, without interruption, a superabundance of crops, particularly of maize, which here grows to great perfection. When eating a peach, if you take the trouble to thrust the stone into the ground, two years afterwards you may eat fruit from the tree it produces. In a court belonging to the Prefect's house, there is now a tree which was planted two years and a half before I saw it, and which, when put into the ground, was only a small twig, three feet long, and as thick as a man's finger. It had grown in that space of time to the height of twenty feet, and measured *thirteen inches in circumference* for several feet above the ground. It is the increase in the size of the *stem* that is deserving of notice, and shows that it was not a mere shoot, slender and useless, such as often grows from many species of trees to a great length in a very short space of time, even in England. I am aware that, compared with what can be forced in green-houses in Europe, the luxuriant growth of my tree at Tarija is a mere nothing! "An *Acacia speciosa* had grown eighteen feet in the space of two years, and a *Eucalyptus* twenty-five feet in the same period; but these are trifles. A specimen of the *Lobœlia candens maxima* had shot up to the

height of *thirty-two feet*, and covered with its main stem and feeders a space of *seven hundred feet*, though struck from a cutting under a hand-glass only two years before! A shoot of bamboo, during the great heat of 1826, had grown *twenty-six feet in the space of eighteen days*, or three-quarters of an inch in an *hour!*" I shall not mention one word more on the growth of plants in Tarija, but those who have not already read the account of the foregoing, and wish to know all the particulars, may consult Granville's Travels, &c. in Russia; or the review of the work in No. lxxvii. Quart. Rev.

History informs us, that Richard II. made a present of Ireland to his favourite Robert de Vere Earl of Oxford; a very sporting gift, certainly; but, though the Earl did actually enjoy the whole of that country as his own property, "without reservation or exception whatever," still he had only a life interest in it.*

* Some few years ago, from among a long neglected mass of rubbish, that had been preserved in one of the public offices in Dublin, a document was brought to light, touching on a part of Irish history, scarcely, '*if at all*,' noticed by historians; and although it was published at the time, it may to some of my readers appear new, and be considered as deserving of a page in my common-place book as many other

At that period, Ireland was possibly of no more consideration or consequence in the world than the province of Tarija is now; in which case, an individual of this town, named Campero, heir to the Count of Toxo, and Marquis of Yavi, possesses a property of as much importance as that of the aforesaid Earl of Oxford, Marquis of Dublin, and Duke of Ireland, with an advantage over the latter, inasmuch as the South American noble has to himself and his heirs *for ever* an estate fully equal in extent to the whole of Ireland, and though much

subjects already entered. The document purports to be, an address from the above-mentioned Robert de Vere to the heads of Authorities in Ireland, on his appointing John Stanley, Knight, to be his Lordship's *locum tenens* in that country, and runs nearly thus:—

"Robert, Marquis of Dublin, Earl of Oxford, and Chamberlain of England, To all to whom the present letters come greeting: Know, that fully confiding in the fidelity and prudence of our beloved John de Stanley, we have appointed him our *locum tenens* in *our* land of Ireland, during our pleasure, with full power of receiving into our faith and peace, as well English as Irish, who maintain themselves in rebellion against *us*, &c. and of causing to be made out to them our letters patent under our seal, which we use in *our aforesaid land*, &c. &c. and of removing from office whomsoever of our officers and servants in that place, as to the said John shall appear insufficient. Likewise, of removing from

of it is wild and uncultivated, it may be doubted if there was not quite as much in the Duke of Ireland's estate in a similar condition; and as regards a comparison with society, science, arts, and refinement of manners, among the tenantry of the two noble proprietors, the difference, though not very great, may probably be in favour of the Marquis of Yavi.

I have been given to understand, that the Creole family of Campero, ennobled from their wealth, have always been considered by far the most extensive landed proprietors in the New

time to time, as well *our* common bench, as *our* Exchequer of Ireland, as to the said John shall appear more expedient, &c. &c. Likewise, of doing and regulating all other and singular things, for the good regulation of the same *our land* and *people* therein, &c. &c. We give also by the tenour of these presents, firmly in command to *our* Chancellor and Treasurer of Ireland, and to all the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons, Knights, Sheriffs, Mayors, Bailiffs, Superiors, Provosts, Servants, and to *our subjects* of the aforesaid land, that they may attend, submit, obey, and assist the said John, as our Lieutenant, &c. &c. Given in our Manor of Kenyngton, on 7th June, in the Tenth of the King." This clearly proves that the whole sovereignty of Ireland, in the fullest sense of the word, was transferred by Richard II. to his favourite, without reservation or exception whatever; so that the Marquis of Dublin, better known in history by the title of Earl of Oxford, was to all intents and purposes king, lord, master, and sole proprietor of Ireland. —*Monthly Museum*, 1814.

World, and their riches immense, although in actual gold and silver not equal to that of many of the nobles of Mexico; still, it was no unusual sight in the course of the year, to see mules laden with bags of doubloons and dollars arrive at the house of the Marquis as rent from different parts of his property.

The actual possession of more riches, and the power of lavishing a greater sum in a given time, seem to have been the only important difference here between the rich and those in humbler circumstances. Rank and wealth seldom carried with them any other distinguishing quality; no advantage was taken of the means of acquiring superior education, nor was there any thing remarkable in respectability of appearance within doors or without, different from others of moderate fortune. The house of the Marquis of Yavi, although it occupies one side of the great *plaza* in the town of Tarija, and now forms a very convenient barrack for a whole regiment of cavalry, was not at any time better furnished or supplied with more of the comforts of life than any other house in the town. Mud floors, unglazed windows, white-washed walls, cheerless and chairless apartments, were here precisely the same as elsewhere. The retinue of half-naked

slaves and domestics was, indeed, infinitely more numerous than could be maintained by any moderate fortune, and the profusion of massive plate, such as in Europe it is difficult to believe.

Want of occupation, as well as of a method to get rid of his bags of gold and silver, induced the late Marquis to take occasional trips to Potosi, for the sole object of play; which in that city was at one time carried to a pitch of extravagance peculiar to men, who, for the loss of thousands and tens of thousands of dollars at a sitting, could console themselves with the hope of digging as much more from the mines that had supplied the first.

One adventure in the life of the Marquis is worth relating, as it affords a fair idea of manners and customs, and at the same time confirms the accounts of those acts of prodigality and dissipation of wealth, which appear to have been formerly general among the South Americans. My inquiries into the truth of the statement, addressed to several persons who were intimately acquainted with the Marquis, and who had a personal knowledge of the facts, leave me no room to doubt the authenticity of my story.

About twenty years ago, El Señor Campero,

Conde de Toxo y Marquess de Yavi, then between twenty and thirty years of age, hearing of the beauty of a lady of high degree in Lima, resolved "to go a-suitoring." With this intent he assembled a numerous train of slaves and vassals, with a few friends of his native town, all of whom he mounted on his best mules and finest horses, and left Tarija, taking with him, among sundry articles for presents, boxes of jewelry, consisting of necklaces, rings, and earrings of diamonds, pearls, and precious stones of all sorts, part of the property of former generations of his wealthy family, all of which had centered in himself. He also took with him in cash one hundred and eighty thousand dollars, (£36,000) for his immediate expenses. On his way through Potosi, he stopped only one night, but that was long enough to admit of his losing at *lansquenet* and *monté* twenty-five thousand dollars of his ready cash.

When he arrived within a day's journey of Lima, the Marquis halted his retinue, and sent forward orders to the silversmiths in the city to prepare forthwith twenty-five sets of shoes for his horses and mules.

It may perhaps be unnecessary to remark that silversmiths in Lima, as in other places, never work that base metal, with which black-

smiths work, and therefore the twenty-five sets of shoes were furnished, as they were required, in pure silver.* The cavalcade being duly prepared, the Marquis with considerable splendour entered the voluptuous capital of Peru, and, after parading proudly through the streets, in order to proclaim his arrival to the world at large, he took up his abode at a mansion prepared for his reception, where a succession of sumptuous entertainments sufficiently testified the wealth and magnificence of the noble house of Yavi, and proved it worthy of aspiring to an alliance with any family in the land.

Among the entertainments given, solely to gratify some wish that might have been casually expressed, or in compliment to any slight observation that might have been made, by the attractive object of his visit to Lima, the Mar-

* I cannot recollect where I read or heard of one of the Dukes of Medina Celi, who had been sent Ambassador from Spain to Constantinople, and who, previously to entering that city, had the horse on which he rode shod with shoes of gold, and those of his escort with silver. But the conceit did not end here; for it is farther related, that the Duke caused the shoes to be so loosely put on, that, in prancing, the horses might occasionally cast one of them among the crowd, who were thus to be inspired with awe and wonder at the power and consequence of the potentate, whose representative could afford to lavish so much wealth.

quis gave a grand bull-fight in the great square, which was fitted up as an amphitheatre capable of containing many thousand spectators, who were served during the exhibition, by slaves dressed in splendid liveries, with liqueurs, fruits, and sweetmeats, in abundance.

When the lady expressed a desire to see a favourite play, it was immediately commanded by the Marquis, who, taking the whole house at his own expense, distributed the tickets among the fashionable world, and had the theatre supplied with refreshments of every kind as at a private party. I did not hear how many balls and suppers he gave, but I ascertained that one alone cost twenty-five thousand dollars.

Three months were passed in the capital, in feasting, regaling, and entertaining, in honour of the lady to whose hand and heart he pretended, and, after contracting debts to the amount of a quarter of a million of dollars, (of which, however, there was neither doubt nor difficulty as to the payment) the Marquis of Toxo departed from Lima, having received from the lady, in return for all his gallantry, a direct refusal to that very particular and personal request which he had gone so far to make.

A few years after this adventure the revolution broke out, and the Marquis, having taken a conspicuous part in the cause of independence, had the misfortune to be taken by the Spaniards, and sent prisoner, it is supposed, to Madrid; but, no authentic account having ever afterwards been heard of him, it is generally believed that he was put to death.

CHAPTER XII.

An excursion to the Mission of Salinas.—A peep into a tent.—Reception at the village of San Luis.—A pasanga.—A secluded beauty.—Arrival at the Convent of Salinas.—Chiriguano Indians.—Province of Tarija, its climate and fertility.—Apology of an unsatisfactory writer.—An address, proclamation, and invitation.—Discovery of a skeleton.—Carnivorous elephant.

MAY 19th. Superabundant preparations being made for an excursion to the ancient Jesuit mission of Salinas, about forty-five leagues distant, we this day set out, accompanied by a large party of ladies and gentlemen, all relatives of the bride of our Commandant-general. Among the ladies was one not less distinguished for superior personal attraction, than for her vivacity and good-humour; she had just completed the age of twenty-two years, had been five years married, and yet was five years a widow. It

was impossible not to feel both pride and pleasure in paying her all those little attentions which ladies like to receive in tributary homage from men; though, in tendering my assistance at the periods of mounting and dismounting her fine cream-coloured mule, my assiduities were sometimes useless, so lightly and actively did she spring of her own accord off and on her saddle. The ladies of Tarija are celebrated for their horsemanship, and frequently distinguish themselves at public races, which are here a very favourite amusement among all classes, and on those occasions, difficult as it may appear, the jockeys, male or female, ride bare-backed. The usual seat of the ladies is the same as that of the English, but their saddles have no crutch, nor support of any kind, being precisely of the make of a man's common saddle in England, only much smaller, and over it is thrown a *pellon* (a worsted saddle-cloth of fancy-colours), on which they sit with ease and confidence. Sometimes females may be seen sitting *en croupe* behind the horsemen, and once or twice I observed them get into that seat by means which proved at least the gentleness of the animal. A knot was tied in the horse's tail, into which the lady introduced her foot as into a stirrup; then, giving one hand

to the horseman, she was assisted into her place on the animal's back, as may be seen in the cut at the end of this volume.

Our excursion being undertaken as a party of pleasure, we resolved to halt when any of the ladies manifested the least degree of fatigue, or where we might chance to find an inviting spot to pitch our tent. This day's journey was between five and six leagues, through the rich vale of Tarija, to the house of a relation of the bride's, where preparations had been made for our entertainment. Among the neighbours invited to the feast, was a jolly friar, an Irishman by birth, who many years ago had been a sailor in the British navy, deserted to a merchant ship, in which he touched at Buenos Ayres, and there became acquainted with some Dominican friars, who invited him to their convent, shaved his head, and clothed him in the habit of their order, in which he still continues, and is now the father confessor of all the frail penitents of the village of Saint Anna.

20th. Although we all rose early, there was so much packing, and so much time required to load our baggage-mules, and saddle our riding-mules, that we did not set out on our journey before the sun was high and powerful. We travelled four leagues through a moun-

tainous country, fertile but uninhabited, then halted on the edge of a river, where we pitched our tent, and, after turning the animals out to graze on the abundant pasture that extended for leagues round us, we passed the evening in that mood of merriment which good cheer and good humour, and good company, generally create. A fashionable lady from Grosvenor-square or thereabouts, accustomed to folding-doors, carpeted apartments, closed windows, downy beds, damask curtains, and other little conveniences, would, I presume, have been *shockingly* surprised, on peeping into our tent at the hour of rest, to behold the fashionables of Tarija pell-mell together, head and stern, topsy-turvy, some upon sheep-skins, some upon saddle-cloths, some upon ponchos, and some upon the green grass, indulging in the comforts of repose with a zest that set all etiquette at defiance. In an assembly so promiscuous and so very closely packed, the lady from Grosvenor-square might imagine, that, according to the laws prescribed by refined society, there must unavoidably have been an infringement of prudence and decorum. I can assure the lady that her alarms are perfectly groundless; there was indeed much of what I considered a very agreeable familiarity, but any thing be-

yond that, I protest, I never witnessed. True it is we all went to bed together, of that there is no denial; husbands and wives, bachelors and widows, prepared each their bed to their fancy, laid themselves down, and made themselves comfortable; but—

> "No curtain'd sleep had we, because,
> We had no curtains to our beds."

At sunrise, the compliments of the morning passed round the tent, and every body got up somehow or other without being noticed or noticing others; as occurs among passengers in a packet, where ladies and gentlemen sometimes mingle together in harmless confusion, but with this difference, indeed, that in our tent we had no overpowering malady to depress the spirits, and induce us to feel regardless of the world and all within it, except unhappy self.

21st. We travelled about eight leagues, through a country of rich pasture, in which we saw some very fine cattle: the silky sleekness of their coats, proving their good condition, particularly attracted our attention. Woods, glens, streams, rocks, mountains, and valleys, were successively passed in the course of the day's journey, and in the evening we halted at a luxuriant spot on the banks of a fine river,

the surrounding scenery forming a splendid park, which required only a mansion to make it complete.

22nd. A very severe frost, covering the ground with white, ushered in the morning; but the day turned out delightful. Our mountainous route prevented us from advancing more than about five leagues, but, surprising to say, we performed the day's journey without loss of life or limb to any of our party, or to any of our animals, which I own it would be difficult to believe, if it were possible for me to describe the nature of the road over which we passed. Several times we threaded our intricate way through glens of the greatest magnificence, full four and five hundred feet above the torrent that swept through the centre of them; but the interest they excited was often interrupted by the dread of immediate destruction. A rugged path, three feet, in some places not two feet, in breadth, on the verge of a tremendous precipice, rendered doubly perilous by an occasional jump which it became necessary to make on our unshod animals, from the point of one rock to the edge of another, was not exactly the situation in which even the most enthusiastic admirer of the picturesque could

be expected calmly to contemplate the beauties of Nature.

We pitched our tent for the night under the mud walls of the Fort of San Diego, which stands isolated on an eminence, surrounded by immense mountains, some of them barren, some fertile, and others luxuriantly wooded. The fort was erected several years ago to check the incursions of a neighbouring tribe of Indians, called Chiriguano, who used to invade the country in hordes, armed with bows and arrows, which they still continue to use with great dexterity. After committing what depredations they could in defenceless villages, and making prisoners of the women and children, they retired, driving with them all the cattle in the neighbourhood. We found a woman living in the fort, who had been seven years a captive to that tribe, which the Spaniards never thoroughly subdued, nor could the Jesuits succeed in converting to Christianity. The woman said that she did not receive any harsh treatment from her captors, and that she had as much to eat, and as much time to sleep, as when with her own family. She had been rescued in a rencontre between a party of the Indians and the neighbouring peasantry, about

ten years back, since which time hostilities have ceased, and no farther apprehensions are entertained respecting them.

23d. Pleasant weather; at 8 A. M. struck our tent, and, pursuing our journey, entered an immense forest, the undisturbed abode of tigers, foxes, monkeys, and birds of beauteous plumage. Our road lay for nearly ten miles through the most sublime forest-scenery, which to me afforded peculiar enjoyment, from the length of time I had passed in the barren district of Potosi. Here was a variety of trees of the finest timber, many such as I had not before seen, but the stately cedar surpassed all the rest in magnitude and grandeur. Passing through the forest, our road opened abruptly on a green valley, stretching before us to the amplest reach of vision, and terminated by the village of San Luis; whence, as well as from all the neighbouring villages, the inhabitants had advanced on horseback to meet and greet the "Comandante-general of the province," of whose approach and newly-formed alliance they had been duly apprised. Never was the village of San Luis entered with greater pomp; and when we stopped at the house of the "priest of the parish," a worthy Dominican friar, who had prepared every thing within

his limited means for our entertainment, I had no cause to envy my companions their cordial reception among their friends and kindred, for when it was made known that I was a countryman of the "Comandante," (a true *Irlandes*,) I also received my ample share of compliment and welcome. Trivial as these observations are, they assist in delineating the character and disposition of the people; and what little I had an opportunity of seeing I am decidedly disposed to consider in their favour. The hospitality of our reception, the attention to our little wants, and the general wish to oblige, proceeded from motives of the most disinterested kindness: there were no soldiers, no police, no authorities, to command a formal attendance; the civilities we received were the genuine and gratuitous offerings of a good-natured people to strangers who had come as friends among them.

This year the inhabitants of the village suffered much from fever and ague, which generally yield to their own simple remedies, chiefly cream-of-tartar and bark. They had also the misfortune to lose the whole of their first crops by locusts, which at the beginning of the year, the first time for fifteen years, had paid them a predatory visit, and consumed every

thing that was consumable, leaving the whole country literally desert. Such, however, are the fruitfulness of the soil, and the nature of the climate, that when the locusts took flight, other crops were immediately sown, and came to perfection without any additional tillage or labour, except merely scattering the seed upon the ground and dragging a bush over it.

Here I saw a man with a very unsightly sore on one side of his neck, from which he seemed to suffer great pain; and, on inquiring the cause, I was told that it had occurred three days before from the bite of a "*pasanga*," a venomous species of spider, commonly the size of a large walnut, but I have been assured that they are sometimes seen "full as large as a mouse."

A farmer in the neighbourhood had lately succeeded in killing a tiger of enormous size, which had committed serious depredations among his flocks and herds; the skin of the animal he now came to barter with Friar Pedro of San Luis, who agreed to give him in exchange twelve masses, to be either sung or said for the future defence of the farmer's stock against all wicked and evil-disposed tigers; a bargain which appeared to give perfect satisfaction to the parties concerned.

24th. Very pleasant weather; left San Luis

about noon, and travelled through woods, and vales, and glens, some of which last we concluded to be at least six hundred feet deep, surpassing in magnificence any thing of the kind I had ever before seen. We crossed the river Salinas eleven different times in the space of four leagues, and then, allured by the charming situation, we halted on its banks, and pitched our tent near the solitary dwelling of a respectable farmer, the proprietor of a great extent of land in this luxuriant district. We found this romantic seclusion embellished not only by the delicious stillness of an autumnal evening, but also by the presence of as lovely a creature in the joyous spring of life as ever attracted Admiration's eye. Her sweet countenance of Roman mould—her splendid white teeth, brilliant black eyes, and matchless head of hair, actually rivetted the admiration of us all, and proved that poetry is not always fiction.

> "Darker than night, her locks fell clustering
> O'er her smooth brow, and the sweet air just moved
> Their vine-like beauty with his gentle wing."

25th. A thick mist overhung the tops of the mountains and obscured the sun, which made our travelling very pleasant; but I find I am no longer capable of giving even a faint description of the scenery. Let it, therefore, be

supposed by the admirers of romantic magnificence, that all that mountains, rocks, woods, and water can compose, on a scale of superlative grandeur, continued to excite our admiration during this day's journey of eight leagues, in which space we forded the same river as yesterday fifteen different times, in its serpentine course through the valley. In the evening we arrived at the ancient Jesuit mission of Salinas, which, after the expulsion of that enterprising fraternity, whose labours in this country were most beneficial, and everywhere prosperous, passed into the hands of Franciscan friars, one of whom, in his eightieth year, received us at the door of the convent; an irregular building, with a church attached, surrounded by twenty or thirty huts, inhabited by the few Chiriguano Indians who have been converted to Christianity; but whatever the benefits may be that their conversion will obtain for them in another world, it certainly has not as yet gained them a single one in this. The only, literally the only instruction these poor people have received, is that of being trained to attend the summons of the convent bell morning and evening, when the whole population of Salinas, amounting, perhaps, to two hundred, assemble within the mouldering walls

of the chapel, to witness half an hour's performance of religion—a formal round of duty, in which there is no want of external decorum, but not a single spark of vital religion, of true godliness, is kindled in the soul. Complaints of the disappointments they have met with in a Christian life are not unfrequent among these converts; but that which they seem to lament more particularly, is a restriction which they say has been rigidly imposed by their pastor, the venerable Franciscan friar, never to have, on any account, more than one wife at a time, and this wife, whether they like her or not, they say they are bound by their baptismal vows to love and to cherish to the end of her days, which they consider a hard case, and so opposed to the habits and customs of their own nation, that many of them, to avoid the "*pesadumbre*" (heaviness) of the marriage-yoke, have absconded from the Christian mission, and rejoined their barbarous tribe.

After the ceremony of baptism, the priest, satisfied that sufficient has been performed for the happiness of his convert in this world, and for his salvation in the next, takes no farther pains to instruct him in any useful art, or to give him the slightest knowlege of the benefits of civilization, of which he remains all his

life as utterly ignorant as any of his brethren of the savage horde which he has left. The only advantage arising from the mission, is the maintenance of peace between the Indians and the Creole inhabitants of the province; as the former in large parties pay frequent visits to their friends in the mission, and find thereby that they are not to consider white men as their natural enemies, but that they may traffic and live amongst them without fear or danger.

The Chiriguano Indians are of a copper-colour, approaching to sallowness, with long shining black hair, and, as the Indians of South America generally are, without beards. Had I seen them in Europe, I should have supposed them to be Chinese, so closely do they resemble those people in their features; a circumstance which supports the theory, that these parts of South America were originally peopled from the shores of the Eastern world. Like all savages, they are fond of what they call *ornamenting* their persons; one method of so doing, is cutting a round hole, as large as a moderate-sized coat-button, in the lower part of the under lip, in which, between the teeth and the lip, to fill up the hole, they insert a coin, and sometimes a common button.

I was particularly struck with their strong,

well-built, muscular frame; and that they are strong may reasonably be inferred from the fact, that they can walk to the town of Tarija in sixteen or eighteen hours. Whenever the Friar of the convent requires any thing from thence, he dispatches two or three of the Indians of his mission, who frequently perform the journey in one day, and return to the convent the next—the shortest distance for pedestrians to Tarija is thirty leagues.

The convent of Salinas is situated in a fertile valley, inclosed by prodigious mountains, thickly wooded with various kinds of timber; but the great prevalence of rains and mists, which at certain seasons of the year, under a tropical sun, may be compared to steam, must make the climate insupportable to a European. I did not hear, however, of any diseases, except *chuchu* (ague), which sometimes rages through the province like a plague.

The sugar-cane, tobacco, rice, maize, and cotton, all come to perfection in particular districts; black cattle multiply and thrive everywhere, to the satisfaction of the farmer, but the moisture of the climate is unfavourable to sheep, and also to the growth of wheat, which, however, in distant parts of the province, is very fine and abundant. It has been

truly remarked, that the province of Tarija possesses a climate of such various temperature, that an inhabitant of Norway or of Italy may travel over it with his barometer in his hand in search of a climate like his own, which he will be sure to find in every respect suited to his constitution and habits.

Is it likely, it may be asked, that a country, one of the most fertile regions of the globe, clothed for the most part in perpetual verdure, producing every commodity of the first necessity for the subsistence of man, and capable of affording all that tends to the convenience and luxury of life, will remain for the lapse of three more centuries neglected and almost unknown?

Ten thousand families, who are elsewhere living upon scanty means, in a state even of penury and distress, might with those same means live here in ease and independence in the midst of superabundant plenty. And would it not be idle to suppose, that the beneficial influence of civilization, industry, and commerce, will not speedily extend to such a spot? We have seen within the short period of the life of man, in the Northern hemisphere of this same continent, towns and cities spring up, and a powerful

nation established, where all before was a trackless forest, the abode of savages and wild beasts. Innumerable similar cases, though not, perhaps, exactly parallel, may be found in the history of the world; greatness, and power, and distinction, have passed in regular succession over the nations of the earth; to except from this seemingly *established* order of things, a country, in which Providence has dispensed so many benefits peculiarly adapted to the enjoyment of mankind, would be an assumption altogether unreasonable, and wholly unsupported by the evidence of preceding events.

In the year 1787, San Alberto, Archbishop of La Plata, whose pious and benevolent character has caused him to be remembered throughout his vast diocese with every sentiment of veneration, addressed a manifesto to the Chiriguano Indians, on the subject of peace and the restoration of several Spaniards whom they held in captivity. This manifesto was conveyed by two Franciscan friars, who undertook the embassy, accompanied by a numerous escort, charged with sundry articles for peace-offerings, such as woollens, cottons, beads, hats, scissors, needles, pins, bridles, spurs, besides cattle, mules, and mares—the latter not for breeding,

but for feasting upon—a fat mare being considered the first of luxuries by the gourmand Indians.

The manifesto of the Archbishop, a copy of which I obtained at the Convent of Salinas, was printed in two columns, one in the Spanish language, and the other in the language of the Chiriguanos; which it must have required considerable ingenuity and application to express on paper, as it has no alphabet of its own, and could have been written only from analogy in sound to the Spanish pronunciation. In this ingenious application the Jesuits, in their day of domination, were particularly distinguished, having in a similar manner composed grammars and dictionaries of the Quichua, Aymará, and other original languages of the country, and translated into them several of their own works, all of which they printed for the convenience and benefit of the missions.

28th. Leaving the ladies of our party at the convent, in charge of the old Franciscan friar, who entertained us most hospitably, Colonel O'Conor and myself, accompanied by two or three friends, set out on another excursion; and after an absence of eight days, during which time we penetrated about one hundred and

twenty miles into the interior, we returned, highly gratified with the pastoral life we had led, and convinced that we had seen, so far as Nature is concerned, as fine, as fertile, and as inviting a country, as any on the face of the earth.

At several places we could not resist stopping for the purpose of laying out parks and building castles, which we did to our hearts' content, on a scale of noble amplitude, and, when completed, if we chanced to dispute who was to be the possessor, it was requisite only to turn the head to the right or the left, or proceed a few paces, to discover a situation even superior to the first. We also built several villages, which we had the satisfaction of seeing in the short space of twenty years rise to respectable towns; and we shall be pardoned if we confess that our vanity was sometimes raised to a pitch of manifest exultation, on being pointed at as the founders of the colony of New Erin, by the numerous settlers whom in illusory perspective we had established around us, in the full enjoyment of peace and plenty.

The manufactures which, in the course of the twenty years, seemed to prosper the most, and which, indeed, we knew from the beginning

could not fail, were those of woollen, sugar, paper, soap, and candles; of all which there is a very great consumption, and which, *previously* to our establishments, were very indifferent and extremely dear.* A brewery, distillery, and tan-yard, also succeeded to the full expectations of the speculators. Among the trades that flourished, we thought we could particularly distinguish carpenters, smiths, masons, bakers, and even weavers; shoemakers, tailors, and hatters, had as much work as they could do. It was pleasing to think, too, that women who were disposed to be industrious could find lucrative employment in spinning,

* If I mistake not, I have heard it affirmed that there is not in South America one single paper-manufactory. The whole supply comes from Europe, and that which is of a quality infinitely inferior to our worst writing-paper in England sells in the interior for three-half-pence a sheet, often for threepence, but good paper seldom less than a *media*, threepence. The consumption for writing is certainly not very great among the commonalty, or indeed among any other class of society; but, what they economize in this way is lavished in another. Not one man in a hundred, in the whole population of South America, who does not smoke, some of them, morning, noon, and night, and, for the most part, paper cigars; that is, tobacco rolled up in a small piece of paper. The general consumption may be judged from this single circumstance, which seems to point out that a *paper* manufactory would be a sure speculation.

knitting, washing, and in the management of a dairy. All this we distinctly saw through Time's telescope. *Àpropos* of dairies.—One day at Tarija, having expressed a wish for butter at breakfast, a lady undertook to make me some, as it was not to be purchased; indeed, it was almost unknown. The next morning I found the lady, her daughters, and servants, in the saloon, busily at work, beating with a spoon about a quart of cream in a washhand-basin, which they handed from one to the other as they tired by the exercise; and when the butter was produced, fresh cream was put in the basin, and so on until a sufficient quantity was obtained: a churn has never been heard of here.

June 5th. We all departed from the convent on our return to Tarija, where we arrived in five days, and long continued to talk with delight of our interesting excursion.

The observations I have made on the Chiriguano Indians, and the country they inhabit, must no doubt fall far short of the expectations of the scientific inquirer; and I fear my confessing with shame, that I am neither naturalist, botanist, nor geologist, will not preserve me from his censure; and yet, for the few particulars which I have furnished, I can-

not suppress a feeling of that pride, harmless, perhaps, in which persons indulge, when they imagine they are imparting the first information, or, as in the present case, even the first slight hint, on any subject of interest—a sentiment by no means uncommon, and extending to many other cases in life. A traveller, in particular, prides himself on having been where others have not, even though he may be unable to show that he has there seen any thing more interesting than his neighbours; still is he proud of the circumstance; nor are there wanting those who envy him his enterprise, whereever it may have been, whether half-way to the summit of Chimborazo, or the whole way to the summit of Mont Blanc; nay, even the ascent to the top of Pompey's Pillar, on the coast of Egypt, has been vain-gloriously boasted of, and the details listened to with interesting surprise. I happen to be one of the few individuals in this world,—mark that, ye climbers, ye lovers of 'rarity,' ye boasters of having performed, not that which is praiseworthy, but merely that which others have not!—I am, I repeat, one of those envied few who have accomplished that far-famed exploit, and on occasionally relating it, (in somewhat of a triumphant tone, of course,) I have excited as much wonder, jealousy, and in-

terest, according to the sanguine feelings of my listeners, as sometimes in relating the adventures of a whole life of wandering half round the globe. The 'rarity' of the ascent was precisely what gave it all its value. M. Humboldt boasts of having climbed to a greater height than any other traveller; yet he seems to envy M. Gay-Lussac, because he happens to have beaten him by a few hundred feet in a balloon. I shall, therefore, be permitted to indulge a similar feeling of whimsical pride, in having visited the province of Tarija, the Chiriguano Indians, and their territories, independently of all real interest, because no other European traveller has done so; "such motives," it has been remarked, "are constantly operating, in various ways, upon very thoughtless people." If it be asked, how it happens that I have not something interesting, wonderful, and new, to relate on a subject and a territory on which no other traveller in this travelling age has touched, I may reply, as I have before now replied to a somewhat similar question respecting the ascent of Pompey's Pillar—that all the wonder, and half the merit, consisted in getting there; that there was but little deserving the imminent risk of life and limb, and little to afford matter of interesting novelty to those below;

yet was there a pleasure and a pride in having performed the exploit. Nearly the same is it with respect to the country of the Chiriguano Indians; I saw nothing beyond the trifles I have described, (scenery excepted, for that cannot be surpassed,) which could interest others in the relation, although to myself every thing was interesting. And, as to wonders and the wonderful, I have told you all about the spiders as large as mice, and of the Chiriguanos walking nearly a hundred miles a-day with ease; but, for any thing *new*—every body knows the proverb.

Important events, however, have sometimes arisen out of trifling occurrences, and a casual hint has led to great and serious undertakings: it may possibly happen that my slight sketch of the province of Tarija (the name of which exists in some maps, though little more of it is known in Europe) the fertility of its soil, the salubrity of its climate, together with the Utopian colony of New Erin, may induce some and more competent person to turn out of the beaten track of South American travellers, to examine whether or not a colony of emigrants might settle there, with such prospects of prosperity as I fancied I beheld, nay, perhaps, to invite, and actually establish one, even within a few short years. I shall only add, that

I shall feel most happy to join any enterprising company of younger brothers in such a scheme —the success of which, with perseverance, and under judicious guidance, I cannot, with my sanguine feelings, for a moment doubt. As regards the preservation of health, and the assurance of happiness, the only medicines with which it is absolutely requisite to be provided are ingredients for making pills of patience and forbearance, which, until accustomed to the mode of living of the natives, must be frequently taken; these, with the cordial of friendship, and a reasonable stock of good spirits, will, under the all-healing care of the Physician of the universe, ensure the enjoyment of life to the last hour of its existence.

That the 'Colony of New Erin' was not altogether an unconsidered subject of desultory conversation, the following copy of a document in my possession will show.*

* On my return to England from South America, I found all speculations connected with that country so 'stale, flat, and unprofitable,' as to leave me, even in the fulness of my zeal, without the most distant hope of reviving them, by giving publicity at that period to the animated address, proclamation, or invitation, with which I was, and still am, personally charged, and on which I am duly authorized to act, in such wise as shall seem fitting unto me, for the benefit of all persons concerned, or likely to be concerned, either in the Old World or the New.

"PEOPLE OF IRELAND!

"My dear Countrymen—After nine years' fighting and hardships, I have had the pleasure of seeing these beautiful provinces free from the Spanish yoke, and now enjoying a Republican form of government, and true happiness and independence. The country is a beautiful one: there is a great abundance of the best land in the world, but very few men and women to occupy, or to till the ground.

"I have chosen this province for my residence. Here I intend to found the colony of New Erin—as green, fertile, and flourishing, as our poor old native land. The province of Tarija is much larger than Ireland, and our colony may be more extensive than its largest county; or, perhaps, than any two counties.

"Men of Ireland!—Here is the home of all those who wish to make New Erin their home. The poorest of my countrymen will be received by me with open arms—they are of my flesh and blood; and after working for a short time to make me a house, they shall be provided with a good one for themselves, with every thing necessary; a good cow, horse, pig, and poultry, at the door, and the crop for the year in their haggard. This house and land

will be theirs for ever, and no man shall have the power to put them out of it. They will not be asked for rent—more than to help now and then on a hurry day, for the general good. They will be completely masters of their own for ever.

"Irishmen!—This is not an adventurer's trick to deceive you. This is the genuine offer of your father, your brother, your friend, your countryman, to share among you what he has gained with his sword. Come to his arms—you will find in him a protector; by his side you will find health, prosperity, and happiness. —Given under my hand and seal, in the city of Tarija, 24th June, 1827.

(L.S.) "FRANCIS BURDETT O'CONOR."

I am not sufficiently acquainted with the circumstances of the case to say whether or not it was an address, proclamation, or invitation, like the foregoing, that somewhat about sixty years ago, induced 500,000 Tourgouths to emigrate from the shores of the Caspian Sea to the frontiers of China; or if an equal number of Irishmen are now likely to 'cut their sticks,' and set out in quest of 'the health, happiness, and independence,' so liberally offered to them by the gallant Commandant-general of the pro-

vince of Tarija. But this I can with all truth assure the 'People of Ireland,' that 'it is not an adventurer's trick,' but the honest effusion of a generous, though rather too sanguine mind; for, no doubt, it will be suspected, that like the generality of his liberal countrymen, he has permitted the national feeling of hospitality to carry him a little beyond what he has either power to execute or means to support. A colony of 'the poorest of my countrymen,' to be transported from the banks of the Shannon to the vale of Tarija, and there (each man, I suppose,) to be put in possession of 'a good cow, horse, pig, poultry, and stocked haggard,' would require a larger capital than my friend, in his munificence, has deigned to consider. It is, however, but justice to him and to 'the People of Ireland,' to state, that by far the least difficulty in the present case is to provide the 'colony of New Erin' with beautiful land in the beautiful province of Tarija, or even with a year's subsistence in advance, but the difficulty of getting there is—quite another thing. I have already given my opinion on the subject of 'health, prosperity, and happiness,' as well here as in other parts of South America—"Industry, with some little means," I have said, cannot fail to prosper; but, industry and poverty

will not do. I, therefore, consider it my duty, being a party concerned, to recommend to the 'poorest of my countrymen' to seek to better their condition a little nearer home than in the beautiful province of Tarija.

14th. Part of a skeleton of a 'Tarija giant' having been recently discovered about five leagues distant from the town, Colonel O'Conor and I set out, with an unusual share of curiosity, provided with spades and shovels, to explore the grave. Some of the masses of bone that we dug up were larger and heavier than any thing of the kind I had ever seen or had an idea of, but to what part of the body they belonged I cannot take upon me to say, for they were shapeless blocks, more like lumps of freestone than any thing to which I can compare them. Half of the head was tolerably preserved, but as four men could scarcely lift this fragment, it was impossible to carry it on mules; I therefore contented myself with part of the under jaw, in which were three perfect teeth, denoting, to our astonishment, that the monster to which they belonged was of the carnivorous species. In front of the head, but broken off from it, was part of a tusk, like that of an elephant, which measured four feet and a half in length: this discovery at once de-

stroyed my wavering faith in the story of the "*gigantes de Tarija*," and while it proved beyond a doubt that the bones were not human, it left us no alternative but to ascribe them to the *mastodon*, or carnivorous elephant; an animal of the antediluvian world, unknown to the present, and not very long since ascertained to have existed.* The whole were lying in a whitish hard sandy clay, not very far from the surface. When I discovered the tusk, I wrote to a friend in Potosi to banter him on his belief in the giants; but the following extract from his reply will show that neither the tusk, nor the detailed account I gave him of my discovery, had the effect of altering that belief which is still pertinaciously maintained by many of his countrymen. "It appears that you wish to attribute to elephants the enormous bones that are found in the vicinity of Tarija; examine with much attention before you characterise them as such, because others, among whom is Doctor Redhead, have examined into the sub-

* The remains which I brought to England were immediately recognised by the late Doctor Wollaston as having belonged to the *mastodon*; they are very distinct from those of an animal discovered several years ago near Buenos Ayres, called, I believe, the *megatherium*, the enormous skeleton of which I saw in the cabinet of Madrid.

ject, and have not assigned them to any such species."*

Theorists who have reasoned on the probable connexion, at one time, of the western coast of South America with the eastern coast of India, may probably consider these elephants, notwithstanding their carnivorous distinction, as some support to their argument; and when to these they add the Chiriguano Indians, whose features so closely resemble the Chinese or Japanese, existing in the neighbourhood of those elephants, the proposition may be put in so questionable a shape as to provoke discussion. It is also a subject of interest to inquire how these monstrous animals came into the vale of Tarija, surrounded as it is by a mountainous rampart, accessible, as I have been credibly informed, in only four places, and those with great difficulty, even to mules and horses. Over three of those places, the most frequented and most convenient in the whole rocky barrier, I have myself travelled, and certainly I do not think it possible that any elephant could have

* *Me parece que Vd quiere atribuir a elefantes las osamentas enormes que se encuentran en las inmediaciones de Tarija; examine con mucha atencion antes de caracterisarlas por tales, mediante que algunos otros, y entre ellos el Señor Redhead, han hecho indagaciones sobre el particular, y no los han atribuido a semejante especie."*

there passed. If, on recurring to theoretical causes for their presence, it be said that they were floated on the surface of the waters at the universal deluge, and deposited as those waters subsided, the sceptic may then ask, how comes it that their remains have been found in such abundance in the vale of Tarija, and so seldom in any other part of South America, or of the world?*

People *will* conjecture, and as every body assumes a right to do so, upon any and upon every subject, I shall avail myself of the general privilege, and state my conjecture to be, that the animals, whose skeletons are found in the mountain-girt vale of Tarija, must have been therein deposited by the subsiding of the waters of the deluge, on the surface of which they had been floated. When I came to this conclusion on the subject, I was not aware that I had the following high authority for its reasonable probability:

* I do not know if the bones of elephants found by M. Humboldt in the valleys of Mexico, Quito, and Peru, were those of the *mastodon;* I believe he merely mentions them to be a novel species, and very different from the mammoth. '*Dans les os fossiles d'eléphans, que j'ai rapportés de la vallée du Mexique, de Quito, et du Perou, M. Cuvier a reconnu une espéce nouvelle et trés differente du Mammouth,* &c."—Tab. Phisique des Reg. Eq.

"In central Asia, the bones of horses and deer have been found at an elevation of 16,000 feet above the sea, in the Himalaya mountains. The occurrence of these bones at such enormous elevation, and consequently in a spot *unfrequented by such animals* as the horse and deer, can, I think, be explained only by supposing them to be of antediluvian origin, and that the carcases of the animals *were drifted* to their present place, and lodged in sand *by the diluvial waters.* This appears to me *the most probable solution* that can be suggested; and, should it prove the true one, will add a still more decisive fact to that of the bones of diluvial animals found by Humboldt on the elevated plains of South America, to show that 'all the high hills and the mountains under the whole heavens were covered,' at the time when the last great physical change, by an inundation of water, took place, over the surface of the whole earth."*

* Buckland, Reliquiæ Diluvianæ, p. 223.

CHAPTER XIII.

Departure from Tarija.—Serious catastrophe.—Guide loses his way in a snow-storm. — Bivouac on the desert of Yavi. — Good effect of example when in difficulty. — Strange term of insult to a horse.—Heartfelt farewell to an old and trusty friend.—Condor.

JUNE 26th. The disturbed state of the provinces through which my road lies to Buenos Ayres, has, notwithstanding the agreeableness of my abode, involuntarily detained me at Tarija until this day, when, in opposition to the considerate advice of my friends, I put my long-threatened resolve into execution, and continued my journey, after giving and receiving many cordial embraces, the impressions of which can never be effaced from my heart. The kindness of my worthy friend, Colonel O'Conor, continued to the last, for he furnished me with peones, mules, and horses, from his own esta-

blishment, and escorted me himself the first stage to a village, where I took up my quarters for the night, under a shed in front of the miller's house. The prodigious quantity of Indian corn that was heaped, like bean-stacks, round the village, all the produce of a very few acres of cultivation, was a striking feature, and proved the fertility of the soil.

27th. Pleasant weather; I travelled ten leagues through an uninhabited country, and then stopped at the house of a major-domo of a large estate, belonging to the Prefect of Tarija, who had given me a letter, desiring that I might be well received, but no stimulus was requisite to induce him to provide me with every thing that the country afforded; mutton, poultry, eggs, *chicha*, milk, and aguardiente, were all produced in abundance.

28th. A cloudy November-like day; travelled through a rocky ravine, and, for the sake of good pasture for the animals, stopped for the night under the lee of some old walls, which afforded very comfortable shelter from a high wind that blew from snow-covered mountains, towering, not "Alps on Alps," but Cordillera on Cordillera, around us.

29th. What a journey of weariness and woe!

Cruel was the sight to see us toiling up full fifteen miles of a continued steep to the summit of the Cordillera, that here forms a ridge round the south-western extremity of the province of Tarija; but crueller by far to behold the wretched, wretched mule that slipped on the edge of a precipice, and—away!—exhibiting ten thousand summersets, round, round, round! down, down, down! nine hundred and ninety-nine thousand fathoms deep!—certainly not one yard less, according to the scale by which I measured the chasm in my wonder-struck imagination, while I stood in my stirrups, straining forward over the ears of my horse, (which equally trembled with alarm,) and viewing the microscopic diminution of the mule, as it revolved with accelerated motion to the bottom, carrying with it our whole grand store of provision. If I say that ten minutes passed away in silent consternation, without an eye being turned from the luckless object of our dismay, I am sure I do not exaggerate above one half. "Alas!" said I, in that plaintive tone of despair which may well be imagined of any one who finds himself suddenly deprived of all his means of subsistence: "Alas! what is to be done?"—"*Quien sabe!*" said the guide—"*No hai remedio,*" (There's no help for it,) said

the peones. Still, I thought we might descend and at least recover our provisions, but, 'nothing is more easy than to do mischief, nothing more difficult than to calculate consequences.' Fortunately, my dog Carlo, accustomed to follow and drive in the straggling mules, pursued the present involuntary straggler down the steep, and that too, rather more hastily than he intended; but the extreme difficulty he experienced in rejoining us clearly demonstrated that, had any of us gone into the abyss, the chances were we should never have again got out. As to the poor animal that lay extended motionless at the bottom, my only hope now was, that life had fled, and that it would be saved from farther suffering in being torn to pieces by the condors, which in a few minutes after our departure was sure to happen.

A lowering sky, approaching storm, and intense cold, hurried us away from the scene of disaster, when, soon clearing the pass of the Cordillera, we descended into a plain, the bounds of which the eye could not reach—a perfect desert, without semblance of tree, or bush, or shrub, of any kind. After travelling about two leagues over its trackless surface in the teeth of a snow-storm, the guide said he had lost his way; the sun had just set: we had no

retreat, and therefore no alternative but to stop where we were; such, indeed, was the piercing bitterness and violence of the wind, carrying with it sleet, weeds, and gravel, that the animals, of their own accord, wheeled round and refused to face it. The peones, wholly unaccustomed to such weather, were as much affrighted as landsmen in a storm at sea, and all of us, unprepared to resist the sudden inclemency, were so completely benumbed as to be disabled from untying the frozen cords composing the tackling of the baggage mules: we were therefore compelled to drag the cargoes to the ground as we best could, for no one had power to support or to unload them in the usual way. No sooner were the mules disburdened, than the peones fell flat upon the ground speechless and motionless; I thought they were dead or dying, but had neither the power nor the means of affording the slightest comfort,—every drop of our *comfort* had rolled to the bottom of the precipice; we had nothing for it but to console ourselves with the old saying—'Tis well it 's no worse,'—though worse it could not well be. Even the animals, loose and at liberty to wander, huddled together, seeming to endure the want of food with indifference, intent only on defending themselves against the

terrifying fury of the storm. As the night advanced, the cold became so intense, that I doubt if any of the North-pole adventurers suffered more than we suffered, for this simple reason, that they were well prepared against its effects; whilst we, in clothing adapted to the summer climate we had left but a few hours before, were literally taken by surprise, and had no anticipation of what was to befall us. I crept for shelter into an empty corn-sack, and lay for some time with my dog in my arms, as wretchedly comfortable as circumstances would admit; but, when the darkness increased, the least movement of any of the animals, or a shivering groan from the peones, was signal of alarm to Carlo, who, knowing it to be his peculiar duty at this time to be on the watch, sprang out ever and anon, to look round and inquire the cause. No persuasion on my part could prevent him from this annoyingly officious discharge of his duty, which, from the very circumstance of his being in my arms, he appeared to consider doubly incumbent on him to perform, probably imagining that I had placed my life in his custody, and that it now depended entirely on his vigilance. Another cause of his uneasiness was the careless state in which the baggage lay scattered about; this he was in the habit of

seeing piled every night in a small circle, in the centre of which a sheep-skin was always placed for his convenience, and the whole entrusted to his charge. These interruptions to a doze, which now and then came over me, I might perhaps have borne with, but the piercing blast that rushed in upon my chest the moment Carlo rushed out was absolutely insupportable, and compelled me to banish him from the bag to lodge at my feet. I need not exaggerate the misery of our situation by adding that wind, frost, hail, snow, and sleet, increased during the night; be it sufficient to say, that the storm continued unabated, accompanied by the utmost rigour of winter at the southern pole.

30th. At daybreak the cold was such as I cannot describe, for I never before experienced any thing to equal it. My poncho and the sack in which I lay were frozen into solid boards: my broad-brimmed vicuña hat had become as inflexible as Don Quixote's helmet: my teeth chattered with a noise such as would be made by a person "playing the piano in thimbles," and when I got up and attempted to walk, I felt like Witherington upon his stumps, for feet I had none; but, assuming a slight degree of his courage, I moved a little, then a

little farther, then a little farther still, and at last found that I was really alive, which was more than I could vouch for with respect to my peones. The horses and mules had never stirred from the spot on which they had fixed themselves the night before, though I cannot say they were motionless, for they shivered immoderately in every limb, and three of them bled at the nose from the effect of the cold. Carlo, shrivelled up into the shape of an awkward crescent, with his back to the storm, formed a very conspicuous feature in the fore-ground of this picture of calamity; which, with the scattered baggage, the immeasurable plain of desolation that extended round us, its gloom nothing diminished by the pale cheerless glare of the sun, as he peeped winking above the horizon through the density of the atmosphere, would have furnished Callot with a deserving pendant to the most miserable subject of his "Miseries of War." Never did day dawn upon a more wretched bivouac: man and beast were utterly helpless, and seemed to have resigned themselves for ever to the unrelenting bitterness of fate.

At this period of the year the sun was at the extremity of his northern course, yet, within the tropics, as I still was, he seldom

passes the meridian without his influence being in some degree felt; therefore, as the day advanced, both the force of the wind and the intensity of the cold, though not altogether subdued, were sensibly diminished. Had not this been the case, it is by no means improbable that I should have been compelled to abandon all my worldly goods, and to trace my way alone, across the desert of Yavi, whilst my peones remained, like the poor mule in the *baranca*, to glut the insatiate maws of the condor and the eagle. I had the utmost difficulty in rousing these men from the state of lethargy in which they lay: I shook them, I rolled them on the ground, I stamped upon them, I bellowed in their ears through my hands closed trumpet-fashion, for the purpose of condensing and conveying the voice, which the roaring fury of the wind rendered absolutely necessary in order to make myself heard; but all these exertions, for a length of time, had no effect upon them, though they contributed not a little to restore life to myself. The exercise, the anxiety, and a legion of doubts and apprehensions that rushed into my mind, as to my probable abandonment in the desert, actually worked me into a mental fever, (a bodily one was impossible,) and the excitement enabled me to set an encouraging example,

which, on occasions of extraordinary perplexity, is of paramount importance, and absolutely requisite to the attainment of good; without it, it often happens that nothing will be attempted, and it follows, even to mathematical demonstration, that, where nothing is attempted, nothing can be done.

Had I yielded to the torpor, which excessive cold is known to produce, and in which, for a considerable time, I felt as much inclination to indulge as my peones, I am convinced that those three men would have perished where they lay. But, roused at length by my exertions, and cheered by my example—for I, like a coward frightened into courage, had become desperate, and thrown off my poncho to make it appear that the cold was nothing, and that the dark blue approaching to purple at the end of my nose, and the tears that streamed from my eyes, were merely the consequences of so long fasting,—they gradually showed signs of resuscitation, and slowly proceeded to *pretend* to work, by moving the ropes, and the baggage, and the bridles, and the saddles, but without the least consciousness of what they were doing. I placed my hands in the trumpet-form, at the ear of each, and loud as lungs were capable, I vociferated "*Vamonos, muchachos, si Dios quiere, hasta un ran-*

cho qualquiera, para buscar algo à comer!!!" (Come along, my boys, with God's will, to some hut, where we may find something to eat!!!) To this no answer was given; they continued busied in doing nothing, and appeared more like trembling ghosts performing some office of the dead, than substantial beings engaged in occupations of the living. At length, some pious ejaculations to the Virgin were audibly muttered, of which I took advantage to give a short version of Jupiter and the Waggoner, and endeavoured to persuade them that the surest way of obtaining assistance from above was by diligently performing our duties below—a reflection which gave additional stimulus to my own exertions, while it had the desired effect with the peones, who now commenced in good truth their preparation to depart. In bridling the horses, Tortuga, from cold, I suppose, refused to open his mouth as obediently as usual to receive the bit, when the peone, a little angry, said, "Why don't you open?" giving the horse at the same time a slight fillip on the nose, when the animal slipped his head from the benumbed grasp of the man and walked away at a slow pace, as slowly followed by the peone, reproaching him with his misconduct in the usual terms of the country,

—"*Parate yegua!—parate ahí, digo,* YEGUA!" (Stop, *mare!*—stop there, I tell thee, *mare!*) "MARE!" the most degrading term of reproach that can be applied to a horse; and as a blow generally accompanies the epithet, the horse is perfectly sensible of this insult to his character and honour. The consequence was that Tortuga, kicking up behind with very uncourteous expressions of indignation, quickened his pace, and the peone continued his invectives:—"*Maldita sea la madre que te parió!*" (Cursed be the mother that gave thee birth!) Back went Tortuga's ears, but onward his pace.—"*Mira que* YEGUA *tan maldita!*" (Did any body ever see such a cursed *mare!*) On went the horse; but, knowing him to be the most tractable and the most amiable creature in the world, I called out to the peone, "*Dexale, hombre, dexale!*" (Let him alone, man, let him alone!) for I saw plainly that the animal was offended, but felt assured that in a few minutes he would return in good humour to his comrades. There was not the slightest apprehension of his straying or being lost in such a wide open desert, besides, a horse is of too sociable a disposition to remain in solitude; we also knew, from previous experience, that even if we continued our march without him,

he would gallop after us when he found himself alone; but, in any case, situated as we were, to lose him was impossible. Tortuga had now gained an eminence at a short distance from our bivouac, where he stopped for a moment, looking earnestly before him, with crest erect and ears pointed forward, in an unusually inquisitive manner, announcing that something extraordinary had attracted his notice. He neighed loudly and resolutely, as if challenging what he saw; this, we distinctly heard, was immediately replied to from the opposite side; upon which, haughtily throwing back his head, raising his tail, and, in a word, making the most of himself, as every dandy does before he ushers himself into company, he moved off with a high pompous gait, full of self-sufficiency, and, snorting defiance at us all, disappeared from our view. In an instant I sprang upon a mule, and soon reached the eminence, whence I saw that he had joined a wandering troop of brood-mares, which, wild as deer, and with all their swiftness, fled as I approached—my horse, my best horse, along with them! To have pursued over the boundless range that extended before them would have been little wiser

than to pursue a shadow; but with my eyes I anxiously followed. I saw them once or twice wheel suddenly round, as if fearlessly to face a pursuing foe; then as suddenly did they continue their flight. Again I saw them stop, and mistrustfully examine the stranger that had joined them, and again they fled, until I could no longer distinguish their manœuvres; besides the distance they so quickly gained, my sight became perfectly dimmed, as if large drops stood in my eyes; the cold blast was certainly sufficient to draw tears, but I do not think that the oppressive fulness I felt was occasioned by the cold. Be that as it may, a long and audible respiration, which some would perhaps call a deep sigh, gave me immediate relief from feelings, such as I have experienced once or twice in my life, when taking leave of a friend whom I have had no hope of ever seeing again.

"My horse," said I to myself, "my best horse, my favourite horse, my companion, my friend, for so long a time, on journeys of so many hundred miles, carrying me up and down mountains, along the edges of precipices, across rivers and torrents, where the safety of the rider so often depended solely on the worthi-

ness of his animal—to lose thee now in a moment of so much need, in a manner so unexpected, and so provokingly accidental, aggravates my loss. The constant care I took of thee proves the value I set on thy merits. At the end of many a wearisome journey, accommodation and comfort for thee were invariably my first consideration, let mine be what they might. Not even the severity of the past night could induce me to deprive thee of thy rug for my own gratification. And must I now suddenly say farewell?—Then farewell! my trusty friend! A thousand dollars are in that portmanteau: had I lost every one of them, they must, indeed, have occasioned regret, but never could they have excited such a feeling of sorrow as thou hast, my best, my favourite horse—farewell!"

Continuing our journey across the bleak wilderness of Yavi, at sun-set we entered a valley, and stopped at a hut, the first habitation we had seen in the course of two days' long journey. Here the inhabitants were crouched round a fire in the middle of the floor, muffled in skins of sheep and llamas, wailing bitterly the inclemency of the weather, which they all

said was such as they had never before experienced. It was impossible to prevail on them to procure us something to eat, though, in our famished state, we did not long stand upon ceremony, for we selected with eagle-eye a llama from a flock in a pen adjoining the hut, and, leading it to slaughter, soon prepared a banquet to our taste.

July 1. A very strong and cold south wind still continued, but the sun shone powerfully, and counteracted the wintry effects of the weather. Our route again lay through a desert country, stony and rugged, in which more than once I was very sensibly reminded of the loss I had recently sustained. When the sun was setting, we fixed upon as sheltered a spot as the desert afforded, and, although the night was extremely cold, our situation was altogether luxurious, compared with that of the 29th.

2d. Weather moderate, the road continued over a naked and interminable wilderness, in which small flocks of vicuña and guanaco were the only living creatures to be seen. In the evening, having crossed a stupendous ridge of the Cordillera, we descended into a narrow valley, where we bivouacked under the lee of

a magnificent rampart of rocks, and regaled with enviable appetite on the remains of our llama; a food, for the full enjoyment of which, good sound teeth are indispensable, and in this, it must be confessed, that Carlo seemed to have the advantage of us all.

3d. Fine pleasant weather; travelled through a valley, the same which I had occasion to mention on my journey from Salta to Potosi, and which continues without interruption a distance of two hundred miles. At night I stopped at the post of La Cueva, which I had passed sixteen months before; for, to my great satisfaction, I had entered the post-road between Peru and Buenos Ayres, and the post-huts, which I then considered abodes of misery, now appeared, on comparison with the accommodation to which I had since been accustomed, palaces of comfort. In the course of the day I had an opportunity of shooting a condor; it was so satiated with its repast on the carcase of a horse, as to suffer me to approach within pistol-shot, before it extended its enormous wings to take flight, which was to me the signal to fire, and, having loaded with an ample charge of pellets, my aim proved effectual and fatal. What a formidable monster did

I behold in the ravine beneath me, screaming and flapping in the last convulsive struggles of life!

It may be difficult to believe, that the most gigantic animal that inhabits the earth or the ocean can be equalled in size by a tenant of the air; and those persons who have never seen a larger bird than our mountain eagle will probably read with astonishment of a species of that same bird, in the southern hemisphere, being so large and strong as to seize an ox with its talons, and to lift it into the air, whence it lets it fall to the ground, in order to kill it and to prey upon the carcase. But this astonishment must in a great degree subside, when the dimensions of the bird are taken into consideration, and which, incredible as they may appear, I now insert *verbatim* from a note taken down with my own hand.

"When the wings are spread they measure sixteen paces (forty feet) in extent, from point to point; the feathers are eight paces (twenty feet) in length, and the quill part two palms (eight inches) in circumference. It is said to have powers sufficient to carry off a live rhinoceros."

4th. All the brooks and streams we crossed in the early part of the morning were frozen so as to bear the animals without the ice even cracking, though the effect of only one night's frost; but the sun (as it may be supposed, just in or about the line of the tropic of Capricorn) is, during several hours of the day, as hot as at our midsummer, and wherever his beams touch, the ice yields to their influence.

I arrived early at the village of Humaguaca, where I obtained excellent accommodation for the night. The extraordinary severity of the weather for the last few days seemed to be a subject of general conversation and lamentation.

I omitted mentioning in its proper place, that the condor I shot yesterday measured ten feet from point to point of the wings when extended, and the longest feather, when pulled out, was three feet in length ; but the people at the post-house assured me, that the bird was a *pichoncito* (quite a chicken.) This slight remark is to prevent the reader from being entrapped (if he has not been so already) into the supposition, that the dimensions of wings and feathers, and the ox, and the live rhinoceros, &c. within the inverted commas, were meant to apply to *my* condor. By no means. That

paragraph is, as I have stated it to be, copied *verbatim* from a note of my own; but the reader will probably lower the tone of chuckling triumph, which, with no very kindly feeling, he may have exultingly assumed over the Author, when he is given to understand, that the said note was taken from the 'Travels of Marco Polo,' and those who desire to know all the *facts* of the subject, may consult Marsden's edition of Marco's Travels, where, from Chapter xxxvi. as also from a note attached to it, they will find that I have rather diminished than exaggerated the account of this monstrous bird, "the existence of which seems to have been universally credited in the East." Indeed, Marco Polo, in his "most noble and famous travels, no lesse pleasaunt than profitable," professes, like other travellers, "to give knowledge of strange and marvellous things as they were seen by him; and that which he saw not he declares by report of those that were wise, discrete, and of good credite." Now, although he did not *see* the bird, he *heard* of it from those whose 'credite' could not be doubted; and therefore, according to the dimensions so accurately given, it must have been a very large bird indeed, infinitely

larger than *my* condor, but still a mere sparrow, compared with another bird equally celebrated, —that which pounced upon the famed steed Bayardo, and parted the combat between Rinaldo and Gradasso—

> " A bird of wondrous size, and dreadful strength,
> And full *three yards* his bill's enormous length :
> His plumes were inky black, of vast extent ;
> His hooky claws on spoil and ravin bent ;
> His eyes were fire, and cruel was his look ;
> And like two sails his ample wings he shook :
> Ne'er have I seen, nor heard, in times of old,
> Of such a bird*——"

nor I either.

* Hoole's Ariosto, B. xxxiii.

CHAPTER XIV.

Wonderful valley.—Abundance of wild fowl.—Situation of the town of Jujui.—Receipt of cash.—Loss of cash.—Desertion.—Trait of integrity.—Unworthy consequence.—Don Carlos Paulo.—Reverse of fortune.—Happy meeting with an old friend.—Purchase of a birlocho.—Recognition of an old brother officer.—An estate in the neighbourhood of Jujui.—Strange request of a mother and daughter.

JULY 5th. Morning, hard frost; at noon, heat of the sun such as to compel me to throw off poncho, coat, and vest; and at nightfall I was again glad to wrap myself in them all. I arrived by the light of a brilliant moon at the single post-hut of Maimara, where travellers who can be satisfied with the best that can be obtained, may lay themselves down contentedly to rest for the night.

6th. The road led over loose stones and frequently across the stream that winds through the wonderful valley already described. From beyond Humaguaca to Jujui, a distance of nearly

one hundred miles, this road continues in the middle of a deep and narrow channel, that must have been scooped through the rocks and mountains, at some remote period of the world, by means of an irresistible flood, of the power of which the human mind can form no conception; for it has been justly said by a recent traveller,* that all the snows of the Andes, simultaneously melted, and rolling onwards with a mighty head at once, could not be equal to the forming such enormous excavations. Yet, that water was the powerful agency it cannot for a moment be doubted; its action is visible up to the loftiest summits of the mountains. Truly the mind is overwhelmed with astonishment at the sight of these stupendous chasms; no language is adequate to describe the mighty magnificence of their conformation, or its effect upon the senses.

In the evening we arrived at El Volcan, a wretched post-hut, where nothing was to be had for love or money; but in the neighbourhood were many *cienagas* (pools and marshes) covered with wild-fowl, in pursuit of which I sallied forth, with the avidity of a savage, to obtain subsistence by my own dexterity, armed with an old dragoon carbine, which, being an

* Captain Andrews' Journey, vol. ii.

engine of wrath expressly manufactured for the destruction of man, was consequently never intended to contribute to the maintenance of his life by the amusement of sporting. But no sooner did I arrive at one of the *cienagas*, than all doubts as to good gun and good cheer vanished, for the abundance of game was such as to require neither double-barrelled Manton, nor a proficient in the art of shooting, to insure success. I fired, that is to say, I pulled my trigger, but that, indeed, is not to say what I expected, for I expected to see ducks, teal, widgeon, and I know not what besides, tumble in dozens and dozens at my feet. Unaccustomed to receive injury from man, the birds hovered in dense clouds round me, and seemed, in addition to their acquired confidence, to be aware of the harmlessness of the instrument with which they were threatened, and they actually passed so close, that the wind from ten thousand wings fanned me whilst I stood, up to the middle, in the marsh, snap, snap, snapping, my wretched lock and fireless flint, in the vain and greedy hope of obtaining, by one single shot, a superabundant meal for myself and peones. I need not mention the mood of mind in which I returned to the post-hut, half a league distant, to try if change of flint would occasion change of luck;

but, having adjusted my carbine in the best manner with the very limited means I possessed, I set out a second time, and fired, actually *fired!* amongst a countless multitude, that sailed whistling through the air in circles above my head. From causes, which to this day I attribute to a kind of serpentine construction in the barrel of my gun, only one solitary duck received the contents, and that unfortunate creature, for my share of it, might as well have fallen on the summit of the Ylimani, the edge of the precipice on which it tumbled being equally beyond my reach. It was, however, a very great and encouraging gratification to know that my gun could go off; therefore, rallying from my previous state of despair, I loaded, and had not long to wait the opportunity of another shot, the direction of which I was obliged to calculate on somewhat of a new mathematical principle, for the nature of my barrel was such as to overthrow all the known laws of projectiles, and to give to its contents, when discharged, a *helical*, or circumvolutionary motion; so that my shot may be supposed to have coursed the wild ducks and teal round the circle that they themselves described in their flight above me, making it to them a clear case of *sauve qui peut*, or de'il take the

hindmost. It is only in this way that I can account for the great success of my last shot, which seemed to have caught all the stragglers, and set my peones and myself a-plunging and floundering in the marsh, to pick up the wounded, the dying, and the dead, with which we returned highly gratified to El Volcan, where we soon unfledged our game, and, cutting it up in quarters, put it into a frying-pan with some mutton-suet and *aji*, and never did aldermen, in their happiest mood, devour their favourite meal with more enjoyment and avidity than we did this delicious fare.

7th. Travelled about five leagues to the post of Yala, where plenty is to be had: from this post onwards the country gradually loses its barren and desolate appearance; the inclosures for cattle, tracts of land under cultivation, and farm-houses, apprize the traveller of his approach to the populous town of Jujui, which formerly enjoyed considerable trade and opulence, and which, notwithstanding its sufferings in the revolution, is still respectable. Jujui, on the verge of the southern tropic, has decidedly the advantage in situation of any town that I have seen in South America; it is built on an eminence between two rivers, in a spacious valley, while the majestic mountains that surround it

are at a sufficient distance to admit of ventilation from the evening breeze, which regularly blows with a delightful freshness after the excessive heat of the day in November and December. At the present season (the winter of this clime) the weather is much like that in our month of April, without its frequent showers. On the sides and at the bases of the mountains, which are for the most part wooded, are many *quintas* and farms, the latter extremely profitable to the proprietors, notwithstanding the indolent manner in which they are cultivated; the former needing only the aid of a little art, and the introduction of a few comforts, as they already vie with any on the globe for luxuriance and beauty of situation.

At Jujui, the carriage-road leading to Buenos Ayres commences, and here travellers from Peru to the latter city consider, to use a homely phrase, that 'the neck of their journey is broken:' in the thirteen hundred miles, or thereabouts, still before them, no serious physical interruptions are any longer to be apprehended, and provisions of some sort are always to be had. Here, then, I took up my abode, until I should ascertain "how the land lay ahead," for in that quarter strong breezes and squalls still prevailed in the political horizon;

also, until I should provide myself with some sort of carriage, or meet with a traveller to accompany me on the journey.

In consequence of the number of fugitive families from Salta, Tucuman, and other disturbed districts, who had taken refuge in this town, there was considerable difficulty in procuring a lodging; but, through the kind intervention of Doctor Redhead, whom I had the good fortune to find here, I succeeded in hiring a small empty house, at the rent of half a dollar a-day, in which I soon made myself at home. The inhabitants complained of the high price of provisions, and I joined with them, not because I was of the same opinion, but merely because we are told—

> " Il vaut mieux être du côté des fous
> Que, du sage parti, se voir *seul* contre tous."

It appeared to me, which I now mention in confidence, that I could buy good meat, good bread, good vegetables, good cheese, good milk, and bad butter, as reasonably as ever I did in my life.

My journal, my private journal, my personal-narrative-common-place-scrap-book, is certainly a very appropriate depository for all little per-

sonal concerns, which being unanimously admitted, I take leave to introduce here a circumstance of that nature. And now, I shall tell you, how the Author was suddenly enriched: how he was suddenly impoverished: how he was suddenly abandoned on the wide world: how he gave his sighs to the wind, and a fig for care.

The chief commissioner having very considerately sent me an order to receive a balance due from Don Victorino Sola, of Salta, on the sale of our galera, left in his custody on our passage through that town, I wrote to him mentioning how important that sum would now be to me, and requested him to remit it. By return of post I received a friendly letter from Don Victorino, inclosing a check for 150 dollars 5 rials on his correspondent in Jujui, who immediately paid it, and thereby made me, if not the richest, certainly as independent, a man as any in the New World. My first step was to search through the town with diligence for a diligence to enable me to continue my journey, and I had the good fortune to find something of the kind in possession of my old friend Don Marcos, to whose hospitality I stood indebted

for a good lodging and supper on my first visit to this place, and which I do not forget, although the reader may. I examined, disapproved, approved, bargained, higgled, purchased the vehicle: then, passing my right arm under Don Marcos' left, proceeded from his house to mine, to give formal ratification by bill, cash, and receipt. On leaving the house of Don Marcos, and when in the middle of the street, a ceremony of infinite importance interrupted our progress for a moment, but only for a moment—it was merely the change of our position, which the custom of the country among *gente decente*, and the good-breeding of Don Marcos, rendered absolutely indispensable. He therefore withdrew his arm from mine, civilly touched his hat, and, passing behind me (for to have passed in front would have been rude) to the left side, there gave me his right arm, and then we proceeded according to rule—a rule as strictly observed in this country as in Spain, where the *right* is invariably given as the post of compliment and honour. On our way home the praises of Don Marcos were lavished on the "very superior carriage" he had ceded me a downright bargain, and with which he had favoured me,

solely on account of being an old friend, for whom he was desirous of giving, at any sacrifice, a decided proof of his esteem.

The bill and receipt being prepared, I counted out two hundred and fifty dollars from my portmanteau; the one hundred and fifty I had received in the morning, would, when added to these, complete the payment; and with the intent of doing so, I went to the shelf in a dark corner of the room, where I had carefully deposited the recently acquired treasure, and found it to be——missing!

It would be tedious to mention the particulars of our minute and anxious search, because every body in the world knows 'all that sort o' thing,' and how a lost article occasions the examination of places, where we know to a moral certainty that it is not. I shall therefore not say one word about how carefully I searched in my bed and under my bed, in my portmanteaus and behind them, under the chair and the table, and latterly, how Don Marcos assisted me in scaling, by means of his shoulders, to a top shelf, without either of us considering that there was not a living soul in the house to have placed it there; my peones had gone, soon after I received the money, with

two of my mules into the country to procure forage, and had not yet returned. At the expiration of half an hour, passed in conjecture which only increased our perplexity, my friend Don Marcos, seeing the necessity of cancelling, for the present at least, the bargain we had made, took up his receipt, and left me to research my house all over for that which I was certain I should not find, nor had any chance of ever again seeing.

" The robb'd that smiles steals something from the thief;
He robs himself that spends a bootless grief."

So I thought, but for the life of me I could not smile. Night came and far advanced before I retired to bed, expecting every moment the return of my peones, for whose delay I could not account; the idle scoundrels must have joined in the public festivities, which had just commenced, in commemoration of the anniversary of the Independence of South America, and to which people from far and near flocked to Jujui, to join in processions, horse-racing, bull-fighting, cock-fighting (for which the clergy of this town are celebrated,) dancing, drinking, and all the merriments of society turned topsy-turvy in holiday diversion.

Morning dawned, and noon arrived, without any intelligence of my peones, which induced those to whom I had complained of my loss to fix the robbery upon them, but not even a suspicion as to their dishonesty entered my mind. They often had had booty of greater consequence in their power, and opportunities much more favourable than the present for securing it, had they harboured any intention of the kind, of which I unhesitatingly acquitted them in the fullest manner. A letter delivered to me in the course of the day, notwithstanding the distressing disappointment it occasioned, confirmed the justice of the foregoing opinion. It was a joint letter from my peones, stating, in a strain of humble apology for their conduct, "that they feared to proceed to the lower provinces, as they should there have run the risk of being forced to join one party or other as soldiers; and that, in the second place, as I was about to sail for Europe on my arrival at Buenos Ayres, they might, after my departure, be compelled to remain there in want, before it should be in their power to return so great a distance to their homes:" they concluded by saying, that "they could not bring themselves to tell me of their intention to leave me, lest it should have met with objections on my part, and have de-

prived them of a favourable opportunity, of which they had now availed themselves, to return to their families." This was the purport of their letter, and I confess I very sensibly felt the dilemma in which I found myself: I knew the importance of my loss, and the difficulty of supplying the place of two such good and trusty servants. On patient reflection, however, I saw nothing very reproachable in their conduct; I even doubted if I should have received, under similar circumstances, the attention of an apologetical letter from the same class of people in more civilized countries. And when I add, that my mules, which they took to the end of their first day's journey, were safely returned, I need say nothing farther in support of the acquittal I have already pronounced; but one more circumstance is deserving of mention, not only as a strong trait of character, but as a convincing proof to Europeans, (those who are forward in exposing the vices of these people) that all the virtues are not monopolized by their own countrymen.

The day before my peones absconded, they requested a settlement of their wages, to which, it being the termination of a quarter, I readily assented, and paid them what was due —deducting five dollars from each for the

maimed mules mentioned at Cinti. They remonstrated against the penalty, stating that they required the money to remit to their wives at Potosi. I insisted that their wives had nothing to do with my mules; that I had suffered a loss of at least ten dollars for every one I deducted from their wages; that all the loss and inconvenience were entirely owing to their own want of care in putting on the pack-saddles; and that they must now submit to the penalty—"*no hai remedio.*" If, however, they wanted money to send to their families, I was willing to advance them twenty dollars each, which, according to an agreement in writing, I was bound to pay them on their arrival at Buenos Ayres, as a *bonus* for their services on so long a journey. Finding me inexorable on the subject of the penalty, they at last took the proffered twenty dollars each, and left the room, but in the course of half an hour they returned with that sum, saying, they would "rather let it remain until their arrival at Buenos Ayres." Next morning they left me in the lurch, as I have already described, but I am disposed to believe that that act does not deprive these *semi-barbarians* of the meed of praise due to their integrity on the subject of the money.

Being bereft in the same hour of my cash,

and of those in whom my confidence was placed, and on whose care and attention all my comfort in the new world depended, occasioned very considerable wailings and forebodings, of that gloomy cast in which persons indulge when they imagine themselves the most unhappy creatures upon earth, and expect all their acquaintance to break their hearts in sheer commiseration of the misfortune (always magnified) that has befallen them. My expectations as to this general sympathy in my behalf were so completely baffled, that I discovered, as the day passed away, that if I did not set to work and help myself and my animals, we should all starve; for the whole town of Jujui had retired to the *siesta*, with as much indifference respecting us as though we had never existed, and I had not the least reason to suppose that they would rise in a more charitable mood. I therefore gave my sighs to the wind, and immediately went and drove my mules to the river to water, procured them plenty of forage, and then struck up a fire in an outhouse, at which I boiled my kettle, and sipped comfort and consolation from a cup of tea, which was excellent, and ought to have been so, for it had just cost seven dollars (twenty-eight shillings) a pound.

The difficulty of obtaining servants of any class in South America I had frequently heard of, and now experienced. Vain were my attempts for several days to procure relief from my situation of "all work," which I performed in the united capacity of groom, housemaid, cook, and own-man. The occupations of these several callings I felt fully equal to, and utterly disregarded the labour; but there was something peculiarly disagreeable, misanthropically wretched, in locking myself up every night in my solitary habitation, and proceeding, with a long mould in one hand and a pistol in the other, to examine the desolate premises before I retired to rest. In reality, there was not the slightest cause for apprehension of evil in Jujui, notwithstanding the practical proof I had had of the existence of light-fingered skirmishers when doors are left carelessly open, as I had left mine. My inquiries for a servant were at last answered by a Spaniard of good and respectable appearance, although his habiliments were precisely the reverse; but his address was of that kind which favourably prepossesses and generally proves the best letter of recommendation that a man can present. He offered, in few words, his services to attend me to Buenos Ayres, promising to perform all the

duties of a servant with diligence, activity, and fidelity. I had been long enough in Spain to know something of the general character and disposition of Spaniards: no people in the world carry egotism to such a pitch; on any questions concerning their acquirements or abilities, whatever be their situation in life, the trumpet of self-praise sounds aloud their perfections. This practice does not proceed from any corrupt principles—there is no intention of harm or deceit: like many national traits of character in all countries, it appears to be unobserved by the natives, although it is glaringly conspicuous to foreigners. The self-praise of Spaniards, gross even as it frequently is, is a custom, and nothing more, for they are not naturally a vain people. Whoever has chanced to hire a Spanish servant, and on presenting himself, has asked him—"Well, what are your abilities, what do you know of the duties of a servant?" must have received for answer—"*Yo, Señor, yo conosco de todo:*" (I, sir, I know every thing.)—"Every thing! What do you mean by every thing?"—"*Todo, Señor, conosco de todo, todo, todo:*" (Every thing, Sir, I know every thing in the world!) I therefore did not question the Spaniard on his merits, but asked him to whom I should refer for a character? He imme-

diately placed himself in an attitude, and assumed a tone, accompanied with an indignant curl of the nostril, which were altogether extremely disrespectful, and, just as I was about to say that I should have nothing to do with so unpromising a servant, he replied, that "I might refer to whom I pleased — but that, although he had been nine months lingering in the town, he was unknown to every body, and every body was unknown to him; still, he hoped that there were in the world some solitary occasions, in which the accident of a man's being destitute of friends would not be considered the only obstruction to his honest endeavours to better his condition."—"Oh! you think so, do you?" said I; and in truth I thought in my heart that his hope was reasonable enough, but I did not tell him so; for, besides being nettled at his manner, I felt a sort of inflated pleasure in the idea of my own consequence, which I could not hastily renounce; a consequence more general and more prevalent than any other assumed by mankind, and yet, of all others, the most vain, and the most inglorious— the consequence of having a few pounds, shillings, and pence, more than our neighbour! This was the vantage-ground I possessed on the present occasion; and, although I could

distinctly discern the stamp of honesty on the Spaniard's brow, even through the dark and humiliating mantle of distress in which it was shrouded, yet did I overlook it with an air of lofty indifference, and leaned to the advice in the fable—

> " Garde-toi, tant que tu vivras,
> De juger des gens sur la mine."

In the course of a short conversation, I mentioned that I was as far from home, friends, and resources, as he was, and had not the means of paying such wages as he probably expected. " All I ask," said he, " is my daily bread, and free conduct to Buenos Ayres; if, when we arrive there, you give me some assistance to enable me to reach my native country, I shall feel grateful.—I know not how to stipulate for wages."

The last sentence was firmly, nay, haughtily expressed; it was uttered under the pangs of wounded feelings, which are not easily described, nor can they be well understood by those who know nothing of the sufferings of honourable adversity. I felt myself suddenly thrust from my ' vantage-ground,' and all my ' consequence' subdued.—" Call again to-morrow," said I.—" *Bueno*," said the Spaniard, and retired.

In the interim, I made inquiries in several quarters respecting the character and conduct of the applicant, the result of which was briefly and precisely this—"He *may* be an honest man; we know nothing against him, *except*, that he is a Spaniard, and served in the army of Spain—in the King's army."

"Time was," said I to myself, "when it was no disgrace to have served in the armies of Spain: time was, when the integrity of a Spaniard was proverbial, and his word considered as a bond throughout the civilized world, and assuredly some still remain unalterably true to those principles that everywhere distinguished their forefathers; many, too, have served in the King's army, without any dereliction of honour or honesty. I shall e'en take this Spaniard into my service—I may go farther and fare worse."

When he called, and was informed of my decision respecting him, he expressed thanks in terms as warm and grateful as though I had appointed him to the dignity of a Potosi Secretary, with a salary of five hundred pounds sterling per annum. "I have been told," said I, "that you have had the misfortune to serve in the King's army?"—"*Es verdad*," (it is true,) said he, "a misfortune I must now consider it."—"You have then had your share of suffer-

ing in the revolutionary war in this country ?" —" Yes," he replied, " from the very beginning to the very end ; that is to say, for a period of sixteen years, and whether or not with credit to myself, and loyalty to my King, these documents will show." Hereupon he searched in his hat, among cigars, a pack of cards, a piece of soap, a comb, a steel and flint, &c. (the hat is to a Spaniard generally, what the kitchen-drawer is to a cook—a receptacle for every thing in the world,) and, taking thereout sundry papers, placed them on the table, and left the room. The first document I opened was a Royal commission, dated 26th March, 1816, appointing " Lieutenant Don Carlos Paulo to be Captain in the regiment of Fernando 7° *vice* Captain Don José Cumulat, killed in action."—" *Captain!* Don Carlos Paulo!" said I to myself, with more than ordinary sensations of surprise, as I took up the next document, which was dated 16th January, 1820, in the city of La Paz, wherein it appeared that Captain Don Carlos Paulo had presented himself, by order of the General of his division, to receive an arrear of pay, amounting to 653 dollars, the half of which, it was expressed in the certificate, " he voluntarily returned for the good of the nation, in consequence of the urgency of the times. In virtue

of which donation from a faithful subject *(fiel vasallo)* we give him the present certificate, &c. &c." Humph! this is, indeed, Captain, very fair evidence of your loyalty, and of your generosity, too, thought I, as I opened the next document, which proved to be the Viceroy La Serna's commission, dated 1st February, 1824, "promoting Don Carlos Paulo to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in his own regiment."

I cannot say from what cause, but positively I felt strangely abashed on reading this document, which I did two or three times over, meditating at the same time an apology, as if I had committed some offence, of which, however, my heart did not directly accuse me; though somehow or other it did not feel easy on the subject.

The two next documents were dated after the royal game of goose was concluded in South America; the first, from the patriot General Urdininea, (to whose army Lieutenant-Colonel Don Carlos and his regiment surrendered themselves prisoners, after a well-contested battle) was a passport, granting the Lieutenant-Colonel permission to retire "with his *servant* and baggage" to La Paz. This was evidence of better days than the present, even in misfortune; for it proved that he had fallen

from bad to worse. The other was a certificate from his commanding officer, in the following terms:— "I certify that Lieutenant-Colonel Don Carlos Paulo is one of those officers who served in the Spanish army until the annihilation of the Royal cause.—Given in Potosi, 25th April, 1825. Signed, José Maria Valdes, Colonel Commandant."

Among the papers were several acknowledgments for sums of money lent to various indiduals by Colonel Don Carlos, when he was in a condition to exercise the principles of benevolence.

Is it not the saying of a Roman sage, that 'the man who has been always fortunate cannot easily have a great reverence for virtue?' Are we hence to conclude, that the man who has been *unfortunate* is more likely to reverence virtue? 'Pon my life, I think so, and under the impression, I inclined more and more to my 'unfortunate friend.' Marmontel considered all servants, '*des amis infortunés*,' and in that capacity Don Carlos attached himself to me, for I concluded our contract in these words— "From this moment, I pray you to consider me your friend, and not your master, which I can never suppose myself."—"*Dios lo pagara à V, caballero, porque, con todo el deseo que tengo, yo*

nunca puedo" (God will repay you, Sir, for, with all my desire to do so, I never can.)—Don Carlos was delighted, and so was I.

Having now acquired an 'unfortunate friend,' I set about preparing for my journey, and first, by 'raising the wind,' which my recent loss made it absolutely requisite I should do. The Americans have a great liking for watches, and notwithstanding the baskets full of Birmingham ware, 'engine-turned, gold hands, and hardened dial-plates,' that have been most unconscionably palmed upon them, they prefer a good English watch to that of any other country; mine was a gold one, cost me thirty-five guineas in London, and had all the appearance of what it really was, a good watch. Thirty-five guineas being something more than one hundred and eighty dollars, I offered it very conscientiously for one hundred and fifty, from which I knew I should have to deduct, according to custom, a still farther sum, before a sale could possibly be effected. I hawked it from house to house, and shop to shop, in every one of which I was offered a price, but upon a scale that proved beyond a doubt how sensibly the market had been affected by importations from Birmingham, there was nothing in the markets of Jujui so flat as watches, they were, in truth—all down.

Eighty dollars was the highest sum offered, which I fortunately declined at the time, as the next day the bidder called on me, and offered a hundred dollars; I asked one hundred and twenty; he would not give a rial more; I proposed to split the difference; he would not advance a single maravedis. "Well, well," said I, "some watches are made to go, mine is one of them"—so I let it go. I was not more fortunate in the disposal of a Peruvian bridle and silver bit, a vicuña poncho, a pair of pearl ear-rings, worn by the Cholas of Potosi, and a few articles of my wearing apparel; but the amount of the whole removed all apprehension of want. We are told, that we should conduct ourselves in fortune as in health—enjoy it when good, bear it patiently when bad, under the hope, no doubt, that "worse luck now, better another time." So it proved with me, for, when in the act of comparing my finances with the probable expenses of the journey before me, and doubting their sufficiency to enable me to conclude the bargain for the carriage, who should enter my apartment but my old acquaintance and kind friend, the Provost, Don Manuel Martin de la Santa Cruz! I poured myself into his extended arms, and, in his cordial and pious embrace, lost myself in a la-

byrinth of joy. My reverend friend was on his way to Buenos Ayres, on a diplomatic mission from his Government, had but just arrived, and was proceeding onwards on horseback, when, accidentally hearing that I was in Jujui, bent on the same journey as himself, he stopped for the purpose of arranging matters between us on the subject.

After asking those fifty thousand questions which every body asks, but nobody answers, on an unexpected and happy meeting, Don Manuel Martin de la Santa Cruz, dignitary of the Church, and Provost of the University of Chuquisaca, mentioned his regret at not being able to find a carriage to purchase for his journey, which, on horseback, with all its inconvenience, he observed, would not cost him less than 500 dollars. "Give me three hundred," said I, "and you shall have a seat to Buenos Ayres in a very superior carriage," for so Don Marcos distinguished that which I had so nearly purchased from him. "*Corriente*," said my friend, which here means—"agreed with all my heart," and hands were instantly shaken in ratification of the bargain. "Come along, *amigo*," said I, and away we went, swimming in felicity. Never did Arab in the desert stoop exhausted at a casual spring with greater joy than that which I felt at this unexpected meeting.

It may be unnecessary to remark, that I did not forget to touch my hat and make the necessary bows in ceding the post of honour to the dignitary of the church, by placing him on my right as we walked through the streets to the house of Don Marcos—ceremony forbid that I should neglect so important an etiquette due to *gente decente!*

On arriving at his door, we rapped and kicked for several minutes, which nearly lost us for ever the acquisition of the carriage, for Don Marcos happened to be indulging in the *siesta*, and, in ill-humour at being so inconsiderately disturbed, vehemently declared that he would not part with his *birlocho.** On hearing this, my reverend companion, who had been led into this intrusion by my impatience, whispered to me, "*Amigo*, we had better withdraw, and return after the *siesta*," which we did, and on apologizing for the interruption, Don Marcos, having had his sleep out and being no longer drowsy, relaxed into his wonted good-humour, and led us forth to examine the *birlocho*, which was in an outhouse where it had been not very carefully preserved for the last three years. On opening the door of the carriage, it was our fate again

* A travelling carriage on two wheels, large enough for four persons.

to disturb a whole family from their *siesta*, though our intrusion did not excite any symptoms of ill-humour: the creatures were of a more patient disposition — a cat and kittens had possession, and were reposing in a corner of one of the seats. "*Pobre gatito, no nos haremos daño*,"— (Poor cat, we shall do thee no harm,) said Don Manuel Martin de la Santa Cruz, as he gently patted the animal, and which I did not consider by any means an unfavourable trait in the character of my friend. "What has made the lining in this state?" said I, taking up a shred of it. "*O, solamente las polillas*," (only the moths,) replied Don Marcos with indifference, "but for all that," continued he, "it is *un birlocho muy superior*," (a very superior carriage.) The depredations committed by the moths were woful, but that could not be helped now. "And what is that under the seat?" said Don Manuel Martin de la Santa Cruz, who had put on his spectacles to aid his investigations. "*Nada*," (nothing,) replied Don Marcos, "*es solamente una pava empollando*"—(It is only a turkey hatching.) There was nothing objectionable in that; so, after a few words aside with my *compagnon de voyage*, who disclaimed all knowledge whatever of carriages, it was agreed that I should purchase the *birlocho*, hire *capataz* and postilions, and receive three

hundred dollars for a seat to Buenos Ayres. I concluded the purchase on the spot, and, without any intention to over-praise the article because it became my property, I must confess that, when I had it brushed up and washed, it looked *à peu de chose près*, that is to say, within a mere trifle, as handsome and respectable as the common run of those two-wheeled covered carts generally used by washerwomen in and about London.—The Provost was delighted, and so was I.

AUGUST 1st, I received the following letter, of which, for the benefit of those who are not conversant in the original language, I subjoin a translation.

Mi mas digno Jefe. La triste situacion en que hoy dia me sobrecoje, y la bondad publica de V, me hace tomar la confianza de suplicarle el favor de llevarme en su compañia hasta Bs. As. de adonde puedo esperar llegar en mi pais, por ser uno de los officiales Españoles comprendidos en la capitulacion del finado General D. P. A. Olañeta, y habiendo tenido el honor de conocer à V, en España, primeramente en Estremadura mientras el sitio de Badajos, despues en tres campañas en diferentes partes, y ultimamente en Madrid en la restauracion del Rey, estoi inducido a esperar, que sus buenos servicios, recien dados a un compañero infeliz, se extenderan ahora a mi, favor à que vivere siempre agradecido. Soy de V, su mas humilde servidor Q. S. M. B.

FRANCISCO CANOS."

"MY MOST WORTHY CHIEF,

"The unfortunate situation in which I am here placed, and your goodness, encourage me to implore the favour to be taken in your company to Buenos Ayres, whence I may hope to reach my native country, being one of those Spanish officers who capitulated with the late General Don Pedro Antonio Olañeta; and having had the honour to know you in Spain, first in Estremadura, at the period of the siege of Badajoz, afterwards during three campaigns, in different parts, and lastly at Madrid, on the restoration of the King, I am induced to hope that your kind services, recently given to an unfortunate comrade, will now be extended to me, for which I shall feel for ever grateful, and remain your obedient humble servant,

FRANCISCO CANOS."

The writer of the foregoing letter was companion in arms with colonel Don Carlos, and as such, his companion in misfortune and adversity. The reader may suppose that the style in which I am addressed at the head of the letter, "*Mi mas digno Jefe*," is merely flattery of the humble suitor, but it is not so; it is customary in Spanish for a military person to address his superior in that form, and whatever I may be at the present day, I was at one time, for the space of four years, the "chief" of Francisco Canos, who was a sub-lieutenant of foot in the same brigade in which I was a "captain bold of horse," and at the conclusion of the Peninsular war, in which we had both followed the for-

tune of the Spanish arms from the Guadiana to the Pyrenees, Sub-lieutenant Canos was promoted to a company in the army of Murillo, and sent to South America under that general to be defeated by the patriots. Captain Canos now felt (and in truth I felt so too) that he had on me the claim of an old brother-officer; therefore, being aware of the truly helpless situation to which the fortune of war had reduced him, I did not venture into any reasoning or calculation with myself on the state of my finances, but yielded at once to a commanding voice that whispered in my ear — "Be mindful of good turns, for thou knowest not what evil shall come upon thee, and when thou fallest thou shalt find a stay."

Within one hour I had his name entered in my passport, under the head of "unfortunate friends."—Captain Canos was delighted, and so was I.

And is this what has been termed, 'binding up the wounds of the afflicted' — 'pouring the balm of comfort into the heart of the distressed?' If it be so, how little do *we rich* deserve thanks or gratitude for an office that is attended with so little trouble and inconvenience to ourselves! The words of the philosopher — "The best and surest way of en-

larging human happiness is by a communication of it to others"—should be engraven on our hearts; but, so far as we generally observe them, they seem to have been traced upon sand.

I have elsewhere remarked, that pleasure is to be derived from the remembrance of days of misfortune and sorrow that have passed; that there is also a pleasure in looking back on scenes of happiness, a long evening passed in conversation with my 'unfortunate friends' has clearly proved; and blank must that life have been, the retrospect of which cannot afford, in a convivial hour, wherewithal to interest and amuse. On the present occasion, it was with no trifling degree of enthusiasm that we talked over the events of our campaigns in that long and sanguinary war, in which, at one period, every person was proud to show that he had borne his little share. Then we transported ourselves to Madrid, and there partook of the festivities of the national jubilee, given on the occasion of peace—then again, but with a different feeling, we examined the list of our old friends and companions, and it was not with indifference we noted the number of names that untimely death had since swept from the catalogue.

August 2nd. Equipped myself in my rid-

ing gear, my poncho, rolled up, hanging like a cross-belt over the shoulder, and having lighted my cigar by that of a gaucho, I mounted my

mule, and proceeded to visit an estate about two leagues from the town, for which the proprietor asked six thousand dollars; the dwelling-house and sundry other houses upon it were of course very indifferent; but still, many were the advantages the property possessed, and nothing could exceed the beauty of the situation; the extent north and south was something more than five miles, and about four east and west. A capital of little more than two thou-

sand pounds would not only purchase the fee-simple of the whole, but afterwards leave sufficient to establish the purchaser respectably and comfortably, with every prospect of repaying the purchase-money and all outlay in a very few years. The soil, it must be unnecessary to add, is unexceptionable, and, for the produce of it the town of Jujui, even in its impoverished state, presents a fair and convenient market.

As my observations on these matters have been made with reference to persons of small means only, it struck me at how moderate a rate three or four might here establish themselves, by purchasing this estate, and dividing it among them. Each, with a capital of one thousand pounds (a sum scarcely sufficient to set up an alehouse in England) might be assured of comfortable independence and lucrative occupation here, probably the most salubrious district in South America, and distinguished at all times for the peaceable disposition of its inhabitants.

3rd. Whilst in the midst of all the occupations of proximate departure, two women, a negress and mulatto (mother and daughter) entered my apartment, and, without any preliminary introduction to conversation, addressed me in these words—"*Por Dios, cavallero mio,*

compra nosotros dos, y llevanos hasta Buenos Ayres con vuestra merced" (For God's sake, dear gentleman, buy us both, and take us with you to Buenos Ayres.)—" *Valgame Dios!*" (Good heavens!) said I, " what can have induced you to apply to me on such a subject?"—" Oh! good Sir Englishman, do buy us, we wish to leave our present master, and, as the price of us both is only five hundred dollars, you may gain the expenses of your journey by selling us at a profit at Cordova or Buenos Ayres, where slaves are at a much higher price than here."—" I am sorry, my good women, for the severe disappointment which, it appears from your anxiety, my refusal is likely to occasion; but, in the first place, I have no means of conveying you; in the second, you are a sort of merchandize, of which I have no knowledge, and the traffic in which is altogether out of my line." They seemed to pay little attention to my objections, but endeavoured to set forth their respective merits, in order to make it appear that the market, by this sale of themselves, was all in my favour. " I will wash for you," said the mother—" I will iron for you," said the daughter—" I will cook for you," said the mother—" I will do any thing and every thing for you," said the daughter—" And so will I,"

said the mother.—" I doubt not, black ladies," said I, " your condescending dispositions, but you are quite too dear for me; and even if you were cheap as shoe-leather, I should decline the purchase; so, Heaven preserve you a thousand years!"

CHAPTER XV.

Departure from Jujui.—Terror of travelling in a coach.—Adieu la voiture ! adieu la boutique !—Unexpected return to Jujui.—An important "If."—Friends threaten a separation.—Estate of Monte Rico.—Cross the Rio Passage.—Village of Conchas.—Meeting with a notorious character.—His ultimate fate.

AUGUST 6th. The *birlocho superior* being thoroughly put in order by the very best workmen of Jujui, capataz and peones being hired, and every preparation made for our journey, precisely at twelve o'clock on this delightful day, Doctor Don Manuel Martin de la Santa Cruz, dignitary of the cathedral, and Provost of the college of Chuquisaca, in a pair of sky-blue cloth breeches, good enough for the journey, stepped into the birlocho ; I followed, and, to my amazement, after me entered a juvenile companion of the Doctor's, his

disciple and secretary, for whom the Doctor said there was "plenty of room." I muttered something or other in a grumbling tone, about my "never having intended to give two places for three hundred dollars;" but it was too late, and indeed impossible, to oppose the wish of my old friend; besides, the intruder was a civil, good-natured sort of young fellow, just sallying forth under his tutor's auspices to see the world. It would, in fact, have required a heart of stone and a mind all selfishness, to have turned out the unoffending youth, who, suffused with blushes at my sudden and hasty remonstrance, silently took his seat in a corner of the birlocho: therefore, without much ado, we were all shut up quite amicably together, and away we went, followed on horseback by my 'unfortunate friends,' who were in greater glee than they had been for many a long day before, and were altogether the happiest unfortunates in the world. But still, by far the happiest individual of the party was myself; partly from that feeling which every one must have experienced, on being himself the cause of happiness to others; partly on account of having passed the most difficult portion of the journey, and all before me appearing down-hill; and partly owing to the satisfaction I felt in the com-

forts of an easy and excellent carriage ; the luxury of which was doubly enjoyed after so much mule-travelling, particularly since the never-to-be-forgotten loss of my lamented Tortuga.

Our capataz and peones, in consequence of their repetition of the farewell cup at parting with family and friends, had acquired a spur in the head, that occasioned, no doubt, the speed at which they galloped through the streets of Jujui ; and, while it indicated to their townsmen that they did not intend to be long absent on their journey, it seemed, at the same time, to put to the test the utmost capabilities of the '*birlocho superior*.' Rapidly as we dashed along, this did not prevent me from admiring the magnificent scenery that surrounds Jujui ; mountains in the distance towering to the sky, their snow-covered tops glistening in the mid-day sun ; others beautifully wooded and descending in gradation into the plain, which requires only the industry of man to be rendered as charming an abode as any upon earth.

With respect to my companions, if it be their fate hereafter to be drawn to execution in a birlocho, it is quite impossible that they can evince a greater degree of insensibility to every thing around them, nor can their thoughts be more engaged on the certainty of immediate

death, than they were on the present occasion. They sat erect, in pale and silent horror, vacantly staring on each other, and with all their might grasping the cushion on which they sat, as if resolved to hold with tenacity the last short moment of life that Fear seemed to whisper was now allotted to them. The velocity with which we bounded over the ground was certainly not a little alarming, but, seeing no immediate danger, I thought the motion of the carriage might have discomposed my friends, and therefore asked—"Are you sick?"—"*Un poco*" was the dejected reply. "Then you had better keep as near to that window as possible," said I.—"Oh! it is not that kind of sickness," said the Provost—"it is a kind of—a—in short, I think on horseback a much safer and pleasanter mode of travelling than this, and if I had had any idea of a coach, I should never have joined in the purchase of one."—"What!" said I, "is this the first time you have travelled in a coach?"—"The very first time in our lives that either of us ever saw one," said the Provost. —"And would to Heaven it were the last!" said the disciple.—"Amen," said the Provost.

Persuasion, and assurance, and raillery, on my part, together with incredible stories of our stage-coaches in England, with four horses, all

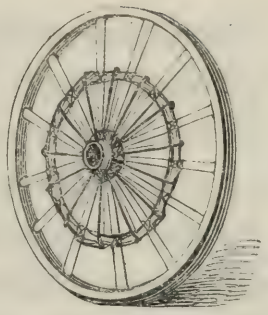
driven and guided by *one* man, were incapable of inspiring confidence in either of my companions, who forcibly held on and continued in their misery, until our arrival at a private house, where we stopped for the night, though only between two and three leagues from Jujui.

I am one of the most careful persons imaginable on a journey, and never omit the close examination of wheels, nuts, and screws, on every opportunity; but, in saying this, I do not pretend to excuse myself from certain interested motives, arising from a feeling of self-preservation. On arriving then at our destination for the night, I proceeded to examine if all was as it should be; when, on the very first glance, I involuntarily clapped my hands in ecstasy of woe, and exclaimed—"*Adieu la voiture! adieu la boutique!*" which signifies neither more nor less than—"It 's all over with the *birlocho superior!*" The scene of destruction that met my horror-struck eyes too plainly proved that my companions had greater cause of fear, and were infinitely nearer the point of real danger, than I, or even they themselves, in all their agony, had imagined. How, in the name of wonder, did we arrive here?—that 's what I want to know. But I need not indulge in that general propensity to relate, with a teasing minuteness,

all the particulars of any untoward event that accidentally befals us, as if imploring compassion, which is seldom obtained, but, even if obtained, avails us nothing as a remedy for the evil. In a word, then, from want of use and the dryness of the climate, the spokes of the wheels had not only all loosened, but several of them had worked from their sockets, and stuck out, 'like quills upon the fretful porcupine.' Add to this, every repair of every kind made by the artisans of Jujui had given way and fallen to pieces. The Provost adjusted his spectacles, and, with a countenance gloomy and blue as his breeches, stalked round and round the wreck, followed by his disciple with a cigar in his mouth, but neither of them uttered a single syllable; they looked confusion in each other's countenance and retired. The capataz and peones threw themselves on the ground, not indeed to weep, but to sleep: they all yielded to the effects of the stirrup-cup, and left me to manage my own concerns as I might think fit. Never was man more suddenly hurled from the acme of delight into utter perplexity, and at the same time more remote from counsel and assistance, than I was. My friend, Don Manuel Martin, had filled his head so full of the sense of others, as to exclude every particle

of his own: his knowledge of books was profound, but of the world, of men, of things, and of the little ingenuities requisite to be practised in life, his knowledge was altogether as shallow, weak, and nugatory, as a child's; his disciple—an infant. I plainly perceived, that if our distress admitted of remedy, it must be applied by myself; and this was precisely my greatest stimulus to exertion. I proposed, and I must admit with the hearty concurrence of Don Manuel Martin, that a large sacrifice should be made on our parts, to induce Don Marcos to take back his '*birlocho superior*,' and that we should then proceed on horseback to Tucuman. With this object in view, I galloped back to Jujui, and, riding through the streets, I excited no small share of curiosity among the inhabitants, who, from the rate at which I had left their town a few hours before, imagined that I might have been anywhere but "back again." On finding my friend Don Marcos, I related to him, in somewhat of a suppliant tone, what had befallen us, and offered to restore to him his birlocho, with 'all its repairs,' and sacrifice a hundred dollars of the purchase-money, if he would refund the difference. "*Con muchisimo gusto*," (With the greatest pleasure,) was the instant reply of my worthy friend.—"*Muchisimas*

gracias, amigo mio," (Many thanks, my dear friend,) said I,—"*If,*" continued Don Marcos, whom I had too hastily interrupted—"*if* you had applied before I paid away the money, but *now* it is totally out of my power to accede to your proposal." What could I say to this?—I urged, it is true, but urged in vain for three-quarters of an hour, for it was evident that Don Marcos was resolved never again to become possessed of the '*birlocho superior.*' I had no alternative but to gallop back, and fall to, heart and hand, to repair the wreck, which, before the sun set, I succeeded in doing to the pink of perfection. I knotted, spliced, woulded, welded, and secured, with a neatness quite unknown to any body in the vicinity of Jujui, and with a solidity equally unknown to those who have never had an opportunity of trying the effect of bullock's hide, which, when cut in strips and applied wet, shrinks in drying, and ultimately becomes, in every sense of the phrase, hard and solid as iron; and, indeed, when hide is applied in cases of this kind, it is quaintly called here "the iron of South America." Having firmly bound a branch of a tree, bent into a hoop, to the spokes, midway between the nave and the outer circumference of the wheel, and from that hoop, between each spoke,



carried strips of hide through a *grummet* round the nave; it exhibited, when finished, this appearance, and seemed to give confidence to every body but his Reverence, who imagined the disaster was not to be remedied by human ingenuity. When I presented myself before him, expecting his benediction for the work I had laboriously performed, he addressed me with all the dignity and gravity of his calling, to this effect: "Señor Don Edmondo, the hand of man is incapable of repairing the damages of the birlocho, so as to give *me* confidence of travelling in it with safety; it must fall to pieces on the road, and (here he made the sign of the cross) Heaven preserve us from the calamity of sudden death! from the risk of which, it being my duty to guard all good Christians, I now beseech you, without any interest but that of your own benefit, to abstain from your rash purpose of proceeding in that frail machine; and farther, I demand as a right, that my three hundred dollars be forthwith returned, for I have resolved to proceed on horseback." I looked for the full space of two minutes in the face of the divine before I thus spoke—"Don Manuel Martin de la Santa

Cruz, there are not in any language so many proverbs and trite sayings as in yours, and among them there may probably be this, which is very common in mine—'No tricks upon travellers.' We have voluntarily embarked in the same boat, and the accidents attending our voyage must be mutually borne; moreover, your three hundred dollars are in the possession of Don Marcos, who will not refund a single maravedis. As to *your* resolution to proceed on horseback, that is so unquestionably your own affair, that I shall not presume to interfere in it; but I take the liberty of assuring you, Don Manuel Martin de la Santa Cruz, *amigo mio*, that it is *my* resolution, within half an hour, to be upon my journey in the *birlocho superior*." I cannot say if the tone of decision (mixed, perhaps, with a spice of angry feeling on account of the hint that I should bear the whole weight of our misfortune) was the cause of imposing silence on his Reverence—whether it was or not, one word farther he did not utter on the subject, but, seating himself on a stone, he unclasped his breviary, which he carried under his arm, and there seemed to be intent on the perusal of it, whilst I was preparing to execute my resolution. The capataz and peones, being all hired by me, at liberal wages, readily obeyed my

commands, and within the given time every thing was ready for our departure. Before stepping into my birlocho, I considered it no more than common civility to bid 'adieu' to my friend, really a worthy, good man, with, as I before hinted, a head full of books: but "books," says the philosopher, "can never teach the use of books. The student must learn, by commerce with mankind, to reduce his speculations to practice, and accommodate his knowledge to the general purposes of life."*

"Adieu! Don Manuel Martin de la Santa Cruz, adieu!" said I, looking tenderly towards him, with one foot on the step of the birlocho, in the attitude of entering, which gave intimation how soon we were to be separated—perhaps for ever.

"What then, Don Edmondo! you are really going in that crazy vehicle?"—"As sure as you are there, *amigo mio*," said I, "and with as little delay as possible, for I am in a hurry to catch the monthly packet at Buenos Ayres."—"Well, well," said the Provost, "stop at least a few minutes, until horses are saddled for the disciple and myself, that we may all proceed together, for I have no objection to your company, except *in* the birlocho."—"With

* Rambler.

all my heart," said I. Two horses were immediately *lasoed* from the drove we had hired to take us to Tucuman, and away we went, I, by myself, in the birlocho. Had I taken to the saddle, it would have implied a want of confidence in the security of my own highly-boasted workmanship.

We travelled between six and seven leagues over an indifferent road, amid grand and imposing scenery, and stopped for the night at a farm-house on the skirt of a forest. Here, upon examining the carriage, I had the satisfaction of finding every thing as at setting out, not a single particle of the repairs having moved in the least. The adulation of capataz and peones not only pampered my own pride to excess, but banished from the minds of the Provost and his disciple the exaggerated alarm with which they were impressed.

The place where we stopped was the centre of an estate called Monte Rico, of which I had heard much in the course of my inquiries about estates when at Jujui. The extent of this property, from north to south, is between three and four leagues, from east to west, not less than seven leagues, bounded by mountains on which are trees of all kinds of the finest timber, and in the plains all the products of the earth might

be brought to perfection. But that which considerably added to the value of the estate of Monte Rico, before the revolution, was the traffic in mules, which, to the number of from five to six and eight thousand, were annually wintered here on their passage from Cordova to Peru, at the customary charge of one dollar each. A short time before the revolution, forty thousand dollars were *refused* for this estate; it may now be purchased for ten thousand; and I do firmly believe, taking it all in all, (notwithstanding the very great falling off in the trade of mules,) that it would be difficult for a European settler, with a capital of four or five thousand pounds, to find a speculation of greater promise. Half a dozen friends industriously disposed, and with some knowledge of farming and of trading, could not fail to enrich themselves in a few years: the circumstance of the estate being only nine leagues distant from the town of Jujui, and sixteen from Salta, is perhaps the best argument I can advance in favour of this conviction.

We travelled for three days without any particular occurrence, through a country sometimes beautiful, sometimes drearily desolate; and on the 11th, when preparing to cross the river *Passage*, which at this season is forded without

any risk, two travellers arrived from Tucuman, on their way to Peru ; one of them, a Frenchman, bearing dispatches from the government of Tucuman, in whose service he held the rank of Lieutenant of Cavalry, had been lately defeated by the troops of the rival provinces, which had formed a confederacy to oppose the system of government promulgated by the President of Buenos Ayres. But what occasioned us infinitely more concern than the defeat of the French officer, or any of the political events of the country, was the intimation which we received from the travellers, that we need not think of continuing our journey in a carriage, as the road onwards for five or six leagues " was utterly impassable for any vehicle upon wheels." I became alarmed, the Provost desponded, and the student cried. While we three were probably thinking on whom to throw the blame of this disappointment, my capataz, a negro and a fine spirited fellow, said, he had often travelled the road to Buenos Ayres, and could not well imagine that there was any spot absolutely impassable for a carriage; " but if there is," added he, " here are many who will gladly engage to clear a passage for us, and if that is impracticable, we can unhang the carriage and

carry it across the bad places." Taking the hint from my capataz, I immediately enlisted, at three rials each, a dozen stout hands, who, with our own peones, after having had a glass or two of aguardiente, declared themselves capable of carrying the birlocho to the summit of the Cordillera. Onward we proceeded, crossed the river with shouts of enthusiasm, as if about to attack an enemy over whom we felt assured of victory, but soon found that the French officer had not much exaggerated the state of the road; one pass, of about a mile, kept us in check upwards of four hours, and was accomplished only by dint of perseverance and the united efforts of eighteen men, encouraged by a liberal allowance of grog. At another place, so completely had the torrents in the last rainy season blocked up the road by huge rocks, that we were compelled to unhang the carriage and carry it across, as the negro capataz had suggested. The Provost of course did not join in the bodily labours of the day, but willingly contributed his spiritual aid, particularly at the spot where we were so long detained; there, while we were rolling away rocks and stones, felling trees and filling hollows, he preached a sermon on the advantages to be derived from industry, and selected his text from a passage in the works

of Saint Bernard, how well adapted to our circumstances I pretend not to say.—"*Let us run, let us run, not in the confidence of our merits, nor in the greatness of our strength; we trust to run, but though we run and are willing, it is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth; for unless Thy ointment pour upon us, we cannot run.*" The sermon did not last above an hour and a half, at the conclusion of which the Provost gave us all his benediction, and said—"Now, in peace will I lay myself down and rest;" then stretching himself in the shade of an *algaroba* tree, there he remained under the soft spell of sleep, until we awoke his Reverence and apprized him that our labours were successfully finished. We then proceeded on our journey, and at night stopped at a comfortable farm-house, having with great difficulty accomplished a distance of four leagues from sunrise to sunset.

12th. Delightful weather. The road, it may be supposed, was much improved, as we performed nearly thirty miles, to Conchas, a straggling village in the midst of a fertile country, where plenty is to be found. Formerly, cattle were so numerous here, that it was usual to send a person on before travellers to clear the road, on which the animals would lay themselves down, they being so fat that it was necessary

to use the whip before they would move out of the way. At Conchas I met with an Englishman, a Londoner by birth, who, with another young man, had come to this country, each with a few hundred pounds, to seek his fortune, and, until a few months previous to my meeting him, had been extremely successful. They had collected sundry kinds of merchandise, which they were preparing to carry to Buenos Ayres on mules, when, happening to meet with Señor Soria—a well-known enterprising man, who at that period was at Oran, on the point of embarking on the river Vermejo, in his praiseworthy expedition to prove the practicability of descending that river to the Parana, and thence to Buenos Ayres;—he (Señor Soria) offered to convey the Englishmen with their goods, *gratis*. Gladly availing themselves of an offer, by which they should not only spare the expense of a large troop of mules, but had every reason to expect a saving in time of at least fifteen days, they disposed of their animals and embarked all their property, which, it was agreed, one of them should accompany, whilst the other remained to follow up their mercantile pursuits. Señor Soria sailed, and continued his voyage prosperously down the river, until he arrived in

Paraguay, the territory of the Dictator Francia, who for the last ten years has held that fine province in abject subjection to his capricious authority. On hearing of the expedition, he took measures to intercept it, and did so most effectually, by seizing the boat, and making Soria, his crew, and all his companions prisoners, whom he marched into the interior, and there detains.*

I was informed by the Englishman at Conchas, where he had been established about two years, that a good estate may be purchased in this neighbourhood for two thousand to four thousand dollars; he said, that any active person establishing himself here, with a capital of five thousand dollars, (£1000,) might be certain of making five times the sum in a few years

* The Englishman at Conchas gave me the name of his companion, and all the particulars attending his seizure, which I communicated, on my arrival at Buenos Ayres, to H. M. Consul-general, who readily promised to use every exertion in his power to obtain the man's release, but without any certainty of success; for, on a previous occasion, Francia returned the Consul's dispatches unopened, and dismissed with threats the messenger who had been sent to him. M. Bonpland, the former companion of Baron Humboldt, was taken prisoner many years ago by Francia, and it was not till these sheets were passing through the press that intelligence of the release of that celebrated botanist reached this country.

by farming only. He himself had made an experiment on the growth of tobacco, which the year before had succeeded beyond his highest expectation, having at once yielded him a handsome return. This year, his young plants were destroyed in a manner which I shall describe in his own words. "Aware," said he, "that '*a manada de langostas*,' (a swarm of locusts,) had made their appearance (which they generally do once in five or seven years) in distant parts of the country, and, having been told that they can be frightened away by noise and squibbing off gunpowder, I made every preparation to guard against them, in the event of their paying a visit here; I even removed my tobacco plants from a distance to a plot of ground close to the house, where, in number forty thousand, the plants grew up well and vigorously to the height of about twelve inches above the ground, when one afternoon, during the hour of *siesta*, my major-domo ran into the house and called out, *Langostas! langostas! langostas!*—I jumped up and ran out in front of the house to see if they were near or distant, and there beheld them in a dense cloud all round us. I instantly returned for my pistols to squib off some gunpowder, whilst other persons who were present seized pots, and pans, and kettles, and whatever they could find with which to make a noise, but

before any thing effectual could be done, the swarm became condensed immediately over the inclosure where the tobacco plants were flourishing in a bright luxuriant green, and, suddenly dropping like a heavy mass upon the top of them, covered the whole field as completely as if a brown mantle had been thrown over it. In about twenty seconds, I declare most solemly," continued he, " that it could not have been *half a minute*, the swarm rose again from the ground as suddenly as they had lighted upon it and continued their flight, leaving the field of 40,000 plants without a vestige of one of them—literally as clean as if it had been swept with a broom."

13th. It is, I believe, natural to us all, to wish to see any person of great distinction, celebrity, or notoriety in the world; whether king, philosopher, hero, or murderer, curiosity is equally eager to be gratified with a sight of him. I confess to this feeling, when I heard a by-stander exclaim, " Here he comes !" and instantly every eye was turned towards the road that passed the house, at the door of which we were all standing. I looked too, and saw a man of military appearance, well-mounted, cantering up to us. He stopped, and vaulted out of his saddle with an active spring, which was in no way impeded

by a large dragoon-sabre that hung clattering by a long belt from his waist; the rein of his horse was grasped by a trooper who accompanied him, equipped cap-à-piè, with the arms and showy uniform of his deserted regiment, and was in truth a fine specimen of the 'horse-grenadier-guards of Colombia.' The former was Matute—a little man, about twenty-eight years of age, with regular features, and a keen black eye, dressed in a blue military frock. He approached and saluted the master of the house, with whom he had become related by marriage, and with whom, as a neighbour, he was now on terms of intimacy, for Matute had purchased a small estate a few miles distant, and had recently established himself upon it. He took not the least notice of the strangers, until he was told that I was an Englishman, when he accosted me in terms of welcome to the country, and, after a short conversation, he entered of his own accord on the subject of his late proceedings, and, spoke very freely upon them. He related his hair-breadth escape from falling into Colonel O'Conor's ambuscade, and said, that, "in the end, he might have annihilated O'Conor and his whole force, but that his principal object was to preserve his own. However," continued he, "I confess I gave orders to

my lancers to put my friend O'Conor *out of the way*, and reprimanded Torres when I heard that those orders were not obeyed." He was not the least disconcerted at hearing that Don Manuel Martin de la Santa Cruz was an envoy on a secret mission from that government which had offered a reward for his head; it is true, there was nothing in the manner or appearance of my friend the Provost to induce any person to imagine that *he* was seeking to obtain the reward; and, as a proof that Matute had no apprehension on the subject, he invited us to breakfast with him on the following morning: an invitation which, as our road passed close to his house, we accepted as frankly as it was given.

14th. At nine o'clock we arrived at Yatasto, formerly a post establishment, now the residence of Matute, who received us with much cordiality, and, conducting us into a decent saloon, there introduced us to his wife. The lady was fair and comely in person, about the age of twenty, but on her brow there was not even a vestige of that brightness which Hymen, in his festive hours, usually sheds on youth; neither was there any manifestation of that buoyancy of spirits which young hearts evince in the first transports of wedded love, when all the world to them is an

Eden of happiness. As she sat in silence and apart, enveloped in her shawl, with her long black tresses hanging loosely down her shoulders, and strongly contrasting with her pallid countenance, I thought I could discern the hapless victim, not the joyous votary of love. Her husband an outlaw, guilty of the heaviest crimes, "a fugitive and vagabond on the earth;" herself rejected by parents, family, and friends, she seemed from her sad heart to sigh—

"Woe is my lot, and patience must be mine."

There was, in truth, a gloom of unhappiness in the scene and its associations, the influence of which it was impossible not to feel.

Among the attendants at the collation which was prepared were two of his grenadiers, the last of his corps that remained with him; the greater number had been killed or wounded in the various battles and skirmishes in which they had been engaged after leaving Cochabamba, and the few survivors had latterly dispersed, each pursuing the road that seemed best adapted to his views. When about to take leave, Matute requested me to send him by the first opportunity, any popular works on jurisprudence and political economy, in Spanish or in French. I asked him if he would

not also wish to have some on war, and military tactics, as applying more particularly to his own profession. "No," said he; "I know too much of war practically to have the least wish to trouble myself with its theory; besides, I am thoroughly convinced that, in war, determined bravery succeeds in nine cases out of ten, and, therefore, in my opinion, books can teach us nothing on the subject."

We took leave,——but here I have to make a stride forward of three weeks or a month, in order to conclude the career of this gallant, restless, and intriguing spirit.

Soon tired of his rustic life among his peaceable country cousins, Matute returned to the city of Salta, and there endeavoured to raise a party to enable him to depose the governor, and restore himself to the office of commandant-general. He had no difficulty in enlisting in his cause a few of those desperate characters, who are generally to be found in large towns, and are always at the beck that invites to booty and disorder. With these, and several soldiers whom he gained over, he was on the eve of executing his design, and of again convulsing the city with civil war, when his plot was discovered, he himself taken prisoner, tried, condemned, and sentenced to be shot.

When on his way to the place of execution, he made a desperate struggle to escape from his guards, and nearly succeeded in mounting a horse, which an accomplice had in readiness to carry him off in the confusion that was expected to occur; but the officer of the guard performed his duty, and the soldiers under him, on arriving at the fatal spot, having obeyed the dread command—"Present!—Fire!" in an instant five musket-balls passed through the heart of Matute.

CHAPTER XVI.

Treasure that formerly passed through Tucuman from the mines of Peru.—Extreme heat in Santiago del Estero.—Barbarous Indians.—A Cordovese beauty.—Recent discovery of silver mines in Cordova.—A great man.—Arrival at Buenos Ayres.—Depression of the paper currency.—Embark in H. M. Packet Zephyr.—Touch at Rio Janeiro.—Arrival in England.

After travelling four days through a country beautifully picturesque, we arrived on the 18th of August, without accident or incident, in the lately sacked city of Tucuman. Here we took up our quarters at a coffee-house in the great square, and found very good accommodation, and the kindest attention to our few wants. From the plenty of every commodity that was to be seen in the markets, a stranger could never have supposed that an enemy's army had retired from the neighbourhood only a few days before, after having levied contribu-

tions, driven off thousands of cattle, and committed divers excesses, such as cannot well be conceived by those who have never witnessed the miseries of civil war.

When are the political commotions of this devoted country to cease? Must the present generation pass away before all the animosities of party are forgotten? Are those treasures, which lie here in superabundance on the surface of the earth, so truly said to be infinitely preferable to those which lie beneath it—are they, on account of incessant feuds, to continue unprofitable and utterly disregarded, when, in other climes, thousands are struggling to obtain, by a laborious life, a scanty supply of that which Nature, in her bounty, here plentifully and almost spontaneously bestows? These are questions which cannot be asked but with intense interest by those who have visited this country, and have had an opportunity of judging what *might be* the advantages to a great portion of mankind, under a good government, the steady friend and supporter of order, industry, and peace.

At Tucuman I became acquainted with Don Francisco, an Englishman, who had been a sailor, and deserted from the Diamond frigate at Buenos Ayres, twenty years before. He

made his way to this city, where he married respectably, and had been ever since established as a *pulpero*,—*i. e.* a retail dealer in wines, spirits, groceries, hardware, earthenware, and 'all that sort o' thing, and every thing in the world.' He told me that, before the revolution he had "more money than he knew what to do with," that "bags of dollars remained upon the shelves of his shop with much less thought about them than about bags of nails at the present day; but that the taxes and contributions of civil wars had nearly exhausted them all." He also told me, that prior to the revolution, "thirty, forty, and even fifty carts, drawn each by four or six oxen, and laden with dollars from Peru, passed every three months through Tucuman to Buenos Ayres, to be there shipped for Spain." I give the words of Don Francisco, though the fact is sufficiently notorious, and requires no corroboration; if it did, there are *other* British sailors, who, although they know nothing of the lading of the 'bullock carts,' can testify to the lading of *ships* with similar treasure.

It has often been to me a subject of surprise to hear many persons, because they had lost their money on the Stock Exchange, pertinaciously maintain that the mines of Peru are all exhausted, or no longer worth the expense

of working. Others, who are disposed to admit that the political revolution of the country has not occasioned a revolution in nature, by changing the soil as suddenly as the government, maintain nevertheless that the *mita* (the forced labour in the mines by Indians) alone enabled the Spaniards to draw from them those immense treasures which were annually sent to Europe. But can those persons believe, in sober truth, that the silver mines of Peru will not admit of paying the wages of two shillings a day to the labourers for working them? And if they suppose that the *mita* was unattended with expense to the mine proprietors, they are in error, for that forced labour, taking in all the drawbacks attending it, was not more advantageous to the mine proprietors than free labour, at fair established wages, now proves to be.

23rd. Resumed our seats in the birlocho, and leaving Tucuman, continued our journey with a plentiful stock of provisions, among which were two majestic turkeys boiled in wine, (a good *vin de pays*,) for the purpose of preserving them from the heat, which it did effectually: these noble creatures, fed entirely on Indian corn, cost, cooking included, seven dollars, (twenty-eight shillings,) which cannot be considered extremely dear, when it is recollected

that an invading army had lately been living here at free quarters, and had retired only a few days before, leaving the neighbourhood, to use the expression of the inhabitants, *limpia!* —(clean as a whistle!)

26th. Arrived at the poor desolate town of Santiago del Estero, where, in consequence of the destruction of the post establishments, we were compelled to remain two days, in order to contract for a troop of mules to convey us a distance of forty leagues. The province of Santiago produces excellent wheat, which I should not have expected where droughts are so excessive; perhaps there is not a spot in South America where the effect of the sun is more powerful. During my residence in this quarter of the globe, I have chanced to experience the extreme of the heat and cold of the climate; the latter I lately described when crossing the desert of Yavi, the former I mentioned when passing through this province eighteen months ago; but I was not then aware of many particulars of that unusually hot summer. In Santiago, for three or four days in the month of December, there was, in addition to the customary excessive heat of that season of the year, a hot wind, which blistered the skin on the face and hands even of those who remained in-doors. Leaves fell scorched from

the trees, and the bark of several became cracked and shrivelled, just as if fire-heat had been applied. Several of these trees so destroyed, I myself saw: but what we Europeans can with difficulty understand, is the fact, that in the night time, for several nights successively, "the locks, bolts, and keys of the doors of apartments, were so hot, that they could not be retained in the hand, and at first it was thought impossible that they could have acquired such heat without the aid of fire." The description which the natives gave of their sufferings and their feelings, under the apprehension of suffocation, was quite dreadful.

29th. Left Santiago, and in three days travelled about a hundred and twenty miles, for the most part in a deep sandy road, with great comfort to ourselves, for it appeared as if we rolled along upon a carpet, but the labour was excessive to the poor beasts until we arrived at the post of Bajada, where, with fresh horses on a good road, we galloped with ease nine miles an hour for twelve leagues, to the village of Oratorio Grande. Here we were obliged to contract anew to be conveyed forward a distance of about 230 miles, and as the postmaster required a day to collect fifty or sixty horses for the purpose, we were detained until the morning of—

September 3d, when we proceeded, taking a different direction from that which I had formerly travelled, thereby avoiding the hills and stony roads which lead to Cordova by the regular post road. Our pace for about sixty miles was a continued gallop, on an excellent road, through a very fine fertile country, and at night we stopped at a gentleman's house, which was surrounded by a deep ditch with palisades, as a protection against the barbarous Indians, who some years ago used to commit dreadful ravages throughout this part of the country. We could not obtain any provisions or accommodation, as the family had retired only two days previously to our arrival, carrying off every thing, and driving their flocks and herds before them, on account of the Indians, who had made their appearance on the frontiers. The effect of this very unexpected information on Don Manuel Martin de la Santa Cruz might have afforded a rich treat to any observer unconcerned in the subject; but the report, which like all other reports, lost nothing in its conveyance from mouth to mouth, was too alarmingly interesting to myself, to admit of any thing like a feeling of merriment at the extravagant despair of my friend. It was true, I did not adopt his suggestion, to take horse and gallop back to Tucuman forthwith; nor

had I altogether the apprehension of being roasted alive before morning; but, I was extremely active in hiring *Gauchos* to scour the country and act as pickets wherever the barbarians might be expected to appear. I also carefully inspected our palisades, for fear of a siege, prepared our fire-arms, of which a very few are sufficient for defence against hundreds of these lancer Indians, and bivouacked with the peones in the middle of the court, surrounded by several immense watch-dogs belonging to the house. The night, however, passed away in perfect quiet, which enabled us all to rise with sufficient courage to continue our journey.

4th. Travelled sixteen leagues, through a fine fertile country, though sadly in want of water, which was so scarce that, at one place where we stopped, a dollar was demanded before our horses were allowed to drink at a green puddle. At another, when we asked for a glass of water, the woman of the house called to a boy, saying, "Take the pitcher and gallop off for some water."—"Pray," said I, "how far has he to go?"—"Oh! not more than a short league," was the reply.

We stopped for the night at "Puerto de la Luna," a single house; but being now in the district of Cordova, things assume a more im-

proved appearance, and the traveller no longer finds any difficulty in obtaining among other necessaries, abundance of good rich milk. The houses, too, are cleaner, and the peasantry seem altogether in a greater degree of comfort than those among whom we had hitherto been.

5th. A journey of sixteen leagues brought us to the small hamlet of Simbolar. In the course of the day we took notice of a few rocks and stones which appeared in our road, the first we had seen in a distance of at least three hundred miles, including part of the province of Tucuman, the whole of Santiago del Estero, and part of Cordova; not a pebble did we see in that space until this day. Cordova is a remarkably fine province, producing a superabundance of different kinds of grain, and famous for its extensive pastures, in which the finest mules of South America are bred: the herds of cattle are also numerous; the price of a choice milch cow at present is ten dollars, (£2;) a horse may be had at a little more, indeed I have seen as much as £6 paid for a fancy horse in prime condition. I was informed, that in the neighbourhood of Simbolar, "a small estate, with a tolerable house and some cattle, may be purchased for 2000 dollars (£400.)

6th. Travelled fourteen leagues to the ex-

cellent post of Sinsacate, where we again entered on the direct post-road. All this part of the country, formerly the property of the Jesuits, is of the finest kind for cultivation and pasture.

7th. Arrived at the hotel of Señor Pizarro, in the city of Cordova: here we stopped three days, whilst our rickety vehicle underwent repairs at a coach manufactory recently established by a North American, who had expert French and German workmen, all of whom acknowledge, that an object of greater distress than our '*birlocho superior*' had never come under their hands. They could not believe that we had conveyed it, or that it had conveyed us, nearly eight hundred miles. "The last tooth in the head of that old Negress opposite," said one of the French workmen, "is more secure in its position than any one of the spokes of these wheels"—many of which dropped out, when the knottings, wouldings, and splicings, were cut away with hatchets, the only way they could be got off, being as indissoluble as the Gordian knot.

An improvement of manners and general superiority of education in the female society of Cordova beyond that of Peru, cannot fail to strike every European after a residence in the latter. There is scarcely a house of respect-

ability here, in which there is not an English pianoforte, with the latest musical productions of Europe, performed in a manner highly creditable to the young ladies, who are in general very handsome, and have the character of making excellent wives. I felt myself attracted, morning, noon, and night, to the house of the Governor of the province, not only by the kind attentions which I received from him and his amiable lady, but, if I judge rightly, for the secret pleasure of indulging in the sunshine of the soul-enlivening eyes of their only daughter, a charming girl, a stranger to the world's wiles, and fresh as the floweret, when unfolding its beauties to the spring—or, as the poet says, for love is always poetical,

> "Like the rose stirring her young leaves apart
> To hail the first breeze of the balmy south."

Cold and insensible must I have been not to have felt "the spark divine from heaven" kindle in my breast. I became unusually inquisitive about the price of houses and estates, and the expense of a respectable establishment. I wandered through the city from house to house, like a swallow seeking where to build its nest, and what prevented me from doing so I know not, for nothing occurred to scare me away. Love at first sight I have often heard of, now I

can believe it. But what cannot the little hoodwinked enchanter perform? He, who is the "bewitcher of wit—the rebel to reason—the betrayer of resolution—the slave of weakness—the harbinger of all unrest—the infection of youth—the madness of age"—what power has he not over the minds of men!—Never before did I find the society of the South American ladies so charmingly interesting; I felt that I could live in happiness, and die in peace at Cordova. For three whole days my imagination indulged in the delights of matrimony. I did not eat a morsel. I fed on the thought of being blessed with an angel wife and children —cherubs of course. For three whole nights my imagination was haunted with the horrors of the comfortless state of an old bachelor — the lonely wretch, hopeless, sorrowful, and depressed. "Alas! alack! and well-a-day!" said I to myself, in thinking of it, and then heaved a lamentable sigh.——"'I thought love had been a joyous thing,' quoth my uncle Toby. —'Tis the most serious thing, an't please your honour, *sometimes*, that is in the world, said the corporal.'"

Don Juan Bautista Bustos, Captain-General and Governor of the fertile and extensive province of Cordova, has held his office, with cre-

dit to himself and with advantage to his country, for nearly nine years; and, considering that all the other provinces of South America have been continually changing their governments, putting down one chief and setting up another, no small praise is due to him, who, amidst the turbulence and civil wars of surrounding states, has preserved his own most of the time in peace, and maintained his authority, without recourse to the sword; although, in one or two instances, he raised his standard in opposition to the system of Rivadavia. Two years ago, a conspiracy was formed against his government, in which Bustos was to have been sacrificed; but, on discovery of the plot, his conduct exhibited an instance of noble confidence in the people and in himself. When the conspirators were brought before him, they expected immediate death; but he, smoking his cigar in perfect indifference, merely lectured them, saying that, they need not be at the pains of taking away his life to remove him from the government, for he was ready, and should be most happy to resign his post, whenever the people, or their representatives in the Junta, thought fit to appoint a successor; "therefore," said he, "don't act like a pack of fools, by risking the forfeiture of your lives in midnight meetings, for the purpose of setting up

one of yourselves in my place; you must first secure the voice of the country in your favour, which you are perfectly at liberty to obtain by all legal means. So go along about your business, and employ those means as soon as you like; but, in the mean time, if I hear any more of conspiracies—*cuidado!* (beware!)" One or two of the leaders were imprisoned for some months, but no other punishment was inflicted; and, as a proof, that the delinquents were restored to favour, I myself met some of them at *tertulias* in the Governor's house. Bustos is considered a clever officer; and, from what I have just related, his coolness and bravery cannot be doubted. He is always happy to render services to foreigners in passing through Cordova, and his partiality to the English nation is best proved by his having sent his only son, a highly promising young man, to be educated in England.

During my stay in Cordova, several persons called on me with specimens of silver ore from a recently discovered metalliferous deposit in the province, and as I was known to be a *Señor Secretario* of a mining concern, proposals were made to me of a nature so inviting, and from quarters so respectable, that I was induced to extend my inquiries on the subject, in order to ascertain beyond a doubt the authenticity of

those representations. Having done so in a most satisfactory manner, it only remained to be assured of the protection of the Government, in the event of the views of our association being directed at some future period to the province of Cordova. I therefore wrote to the head of the government on the subject, and received the following reply :

" The undersigned, Governor of the province of Cordova, in reply to a letter from the Señor Secretary, relative to the recently discovered mines here, has the pleasure to inform him, that the minerals, according to authentic statements, surpass the richest that have been hitherto discovered in the Argentine Republic ; none of the ores have as yet yielded less than fifty marcs the caxon, and many have equalled two hundred. The Señor Secretary may satisfactorily assure himself on this subject, by paying a visit to the mines themselves, where he will obtain every information he can desire. The salubrity of this climate, the convenience of carriage, the abundance of provisions, fuel, and all other necessaries requisite for the operations of mining, are superior advantages in this province, which cannot escape the observation of the Señor Secretary after his residence in Potosi.

" In reply to the second paragraph in the Secretary's note, the Company to which he belongs, or any other, is free to direct its operations to the mines in the province of Cordova. The laws of this nation, generally, afford every protection to the workers of mines ; and those of the province have specially enacted, that all machinery and implements imported for the object of mining are free of duty. Those same laws concede to miners various privileges and exemptions, which other individuals of the Republic do not enjoy.

"The customs and religion of foreigners, of whatever nation they may be, are tolerated, although no temples of worship are permitted to be built that are not dedicated to the established religion. If, at any future period, the Señor Secretary should think fit to direct his proposals to this Government, he will at all times find it heartily disposed by every means in its power to farther and protect his designs.

"The undersigned has the satisfaction of presenting to the Señor Secretary his consideration and esteem.

"JUAN BAUTISTA BUSTOS."

My short stay in Cordova did not admit of my paying a visit to the mines, but I saw several specimens of the ores, and also several masses of silver extracted from them. If that question, which I have so frequently heard put by those who know nothing of the state of things in this country, be asked—'Why don't the natives avail themselves of the boasted riches of their soil, if they really exist?'—those who have travelled through South America will not hesitate in giving the true answer, namely, 'Because they have no capital.'—This want is severely felt throughout the country, which, of late years, has been literally drained in every possible way of the precious metals, whilst the mines, that formerly kept up the supply, not only for South America, but for the whole world, have been abandoned in the revolution, and the working of them has never since

been formally resumed, owing to the want of capital. The sum of sixty or seventy thousand dollars (£12,000 or £14,000 sterling) would be sufficient to commence working the mines of Cordova on a respectable scale. And if, upon farther survey by competent persons, they should be found to answer the notions entertained of them, the local advantages are such as to make it no very hazardous assertion, that, in this case, they would be as promising a mining speculation as any in the world.

11th. Left Cordova, having still upwards of 500 miles to perform to Buenos Ayres, but, our road being over the smooth surface of the Pampas, we travelled at the rate of thirty to forty leagues a day, without seeing any thing to attract attention, except the immense herds of cattle that range over the boundless extent. On the unvaried sameness of this vast plain, it has been rightly observed, that the traveller longs again to see trees, hills, and valleys, and the wild course of torrents; but no variation whatever is visible, neither is there any indication of the existence of man in the intervals between post and post.

16th. Stopped at the post of Arecife, the master of which is probably the greatest man in the New World—if size and weight constitute greatness. He seldom walks above a

few yards from the door of his house, and then drags a chair with him for the convenience of immediate rest. Of the importance of his person he seems himself to be fully aware, as are all the vassals of his domain, for he employs it occasionally as a punishment for the idle and refractory. When a culprit is brought before him, he orders him to lie upon the ground, and then seats himself upon him and smokes a cigar, or perhaps two, according to the nature of the offence; and the poor groaning wretch can no more move under the weight than if buried beneath Mount Athos. The protuberance of this great man's stomach is so large, that the hands of others are required to adjust the buttons of his waistcoat and nether garment, it being impossible for his own to meet for that purpose; and yet he is married to a respectable and good-looking woman, by whom he has three very fine children. We may reasonably suppose that, as a Gaucho, he is in easy circumstances, from the simple fact, that he has at this day upwards of ten thousand head of horned cattle, sheep, and horses, grazing on the Pampas round his premises.

18th. Hard frost, and piercing cold morning, which, eighteen months ago, when broiling in the heat on these same Pampas, I did not think could ever be the case here; both ice and cold,

however, soon yield to the influence of the sun before he reaches the meridian. In the afternoon we discerned in the distant horizon the domes, cupolas, and steeples, which, to our heartfelt joy, denoted the anxiously wished-for termination of our long journey. On approaching Buenos Ayres, we were compelled to make a circuit to find a road by which to enter the city without the danger of leaving our vehicle in a mud-hole, the heavy rains which had fallen, but which we escaped, having rendered the roads in many places impassable.

The *assignats* at the commencement of the French Revolution could scarcely have been in worse credit than we found the paper money of Buenos Ayres, *billetes del Banco*, which inundated the whole province. Specie had altogether disappeared from circulation, and was used only as a distinct object of purchase and sale; the prices of doubloons and dollars being entered in the daily papers as regularly as the prices of all articles of merchandise. Doubloons had risen from their usual rate of seventeen dollars to seventy, seventy-five, and eighty, paper currency, whilst the silver dollars had risen to the price of four of paper. Don Manuel Martin and I at first imagined that it would prove a fortune to us both to get four dollars for

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one; we therefore changed most of our silver for paper: but, when we sallied forth to procure some few necessaries for the embellishment of our persons, we discovered our mistake, and found that it was possible for a man to be poor at Buenos Ayres with pockets full of the money of the country. My first purchase was the usual one of all travellers when they arrive in a capital after a long journey—a hat, which it is conceived gives at once a genteel and agreeable finish to the appearance. The price of this article here had hitherto been about eight or nine dollars; this, according to Don Manuel's calculation and mine, would to us be a cheap article; we therefore fitted and approved, each to his fancy, the very best *Londres* hat. "What is the price of this?" said I.—"That, Sir," said the shopkeeper, "you shall have—just allow me to look at the quality—you shall have it, Sir, for six-and-thirty dollars."—"Why!" said I, "I thought the price was only eight!"—"Oh! Sir," said the shopkeeper, "if you pay in *cash*, you may have it with pleasure for seven."—"*Mira que diablo!*" said the Provost, astonished at the price, as he looked at himself in the glass with a hat which he had selected, and then he asked—"What is the price of this?"—"That I can afford to let your Re-

verence have for forty dollars, or, if your Reverence thinks fit, for ten in silver, which I leave entirely at the option of your Reverence," said the shopkeeper, making a bow and smiling, as from a feeling of generosity, at the act of kindness which he considered he was conferring on his customer. "*Que dice V, hombre?*" (What do you say, man?) asked the Provost, with a frown, though he had heard distinctly enough at first; but the shopkeeper was too civil not to repeat his demand, and too honest not to adhere to his original offer. "But, why should the price of this hat so much exceed that of the other?" said the Provost. "Because," replied the shopkeeper, "it so much exceeds the other in size; your Reverence will please to observe, that there is as much in the broad brim of this clerical hat, as would make two hats such as that Cavallero has chosen." The fact was evident, and could not be denied; but, it being the fashionable hat of the clergy of this country, it seemed that the Provost of the College of Chuquisaca had determined not to be surpassed even by a single inch in the broadest brim of the largest hat of any Provost in the city of Buenos Ayres. So, paying down our new dollars, away we went with our new hats, much better pleased with ourselves than with our bargains.

Our next call was on a tailor, where, instead of thirty dollars, as formerly, for a plain frock-coat, I was now asked one hundred and twenty. With respect to Don Manuel Martin de la Santa Cruz, it would have moved the hardest heart, to witness his dismay, when he was informed that it would cost him at the least sixty, and probably, sixty-five dollars, to replace his blue breeches by a new pair of black. In vain he represented that they had cost him only five dollars in the city of Chuquisaca; in vain he boasted, in proof of their value, that they had been in constant wear for two years and a half, which, indeed, the tailor readily believed, but he would not abate half a dollar of his demand. It would have moved, I say, the hardest heart, to witness the look of despair with which the Provost surveyed the wear and tear occasioned by a journey of seventeen hundred miles, and which made it absolutely necessary, on the score of common decency, (and the Provost is really a decent man,) to replace the blue breeches at any cost. He very honestly observed that, although they had so long passed, and might probably again pass, unnoticed among the Indians of Peru, there was a something in their appearance that did not accord with the dignity of an ambassador in the city of Buenos Ayres; therefore, lifting

up the long skirts of his coat for the facility of the tailor, he submitted to be measured on the spot for a new pair of superfine black cloth at sixty-two dollars.

October 15th. I embarked in his Majesty's packet-brig Zephyr, and sailed for Monte Video, and thence to Rio Janeiro, where we arrived on the 5th of November. The magnificent scenery of this noble harbour fully equalled all that I had ever heard in its praise, and far surpassed any thing that print or panorama is capable of representing. On landing, however, I was not much surprised at finding an ultra-marine Portuguese city to be a mean, dirty town, with bad hotels, and bad accommodation. The bustle of trade and business is certainly considerable, and the most striking feature to an Englishman on first landing, is the great number of half-naked Negro slaves, who are everywhere to be met with; some dragging small low carriages laden with merchandise, others carrying bales upon their heads, or employed in some laborious service; but there was nothing, in appearance at least, to indicate unhappiness, for they all seemed to work with great willingness and glee, singing in loud concert a stanza of some wild song, as they trotted in groups under their burdens through the

streets. The scene was very different at the slave-market, to which curiosity induced me to pay a morning visit; there all appeared disconsolate and unhappy. On entering the apartment where the slave-merchants keep their merchandise for sale, I saw about a hundred and fifty miserable beings lying on the ground, with a woollen rug, their only clothing, round each. When the keeper observed me enter, he cracked a whip, at the sound of which all the slaves instantly jumped up from the ground, and ranged themselves in ranks, men, women, and children, separately. The keeper, supposing I was a purchaser, then beckoned to those, who in his opinion had the best appearance, and were in the best condition; these came forward, and were made to turn round, walk, jump, and raise their arms and legs, to show that they were sound; their mouths were opened, to show that their teeth also were sufficiently sound to chew the toughest meat. The keeper then talked of their good appetites, and set forth all their promising qualities, and, in the prices, which varied according to good looks, from two hundred to three hundred and fifty dollars, we higgled, just as for any other marketable article.

After remaining a week at Rio Janeiro, we

weighed our anchor for the last time, and, after a favourable voyage of forty-five days, arrived, on the 26th of December, in the harbour of Falmouth.

HOW TO MOUNT ON HORSEBACK IN PERU.

THE END.

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